A HISTORY OF HAWAII

Edward S.

Morris

A HISTORY OF HAWAII

Kamehameha, the Great

Portrait made from life in 1816 by the French artist, L. Choris. Original owned by Bruce Cartwright. Photographic copy made by Norman D. Hill.

A HISTORY OF HAWAII

PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

THE HISTORICAL COMMISSION

OF THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII

BY

RALPH S. KUYKENDALL

WITH INTRODUCTORY CHAPTERS

BY

HERBERT E. GREGORY

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PREFACE

THE purpose of this book is to describe briefly and simply the historical process by which Hawaii came to be what it is to-day — an integral part of the United States, an American commonwealth having a unique social and economic background. The topical method is used, but without disturbing too violently the chronological sequence of events. The aim has been to make each chapter center about some person, some event, or some clearly defined line of development, other things being made subordinate to the central theme, in order that the attention of the reader may be fixed upon the outstanding characters, the decisive events, and the controlling movements in the history of Hawaii. In the selection of facts and incidents to be included in a work of this character, no two writers would agree. The authors of this book have used their best judgment, in the light of their own studies, and the criticisms and suggestions of those with whom they have discussed the subject. While the book is intended primarily for school use, it is believed that it will be of service to the general reader who desires a plain statement of the main facts of Hawaiian history.

It will be well to state briefly how the volume came to be written. The Legislature of the Territory of Hawaii, by laws enacted in 1921 and 1923, provided for the appointment of an Historical Commission. Among the duties assigned to this Commission was that of having compiled and published a school textbook of Hawaiian history. Governor Farrington appointed as members of the Commission Hon. Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole, Hawaii's Delegate in Congress, Hon. George R. Carter, formerly Governor of the Territory, and Dr. K. C. Leebrick, Professor of

History in the University of Hawaii. Upon the death of Prince Kuhio in January, 1922, Mrs. A. P. Taylor was appointed to fill the vacancy. After its organization the Commission employed Ralph S. Kuykendall as Executive Secretary. It is under direction and by authority of the Historical Commission, as thus constituted, that this volume (the "textbook of Hawaiian history" required by the law) has been written.

The first three chapters were written by Herbert E. Gregory, Ph.D., Director of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and History; the remainder of the book by Ralph S. Kuykendall, M.A., Executive Secretary of the Historical Commission.

In the preparation of this history use has been made principally of the following collections: (1) the Archives of Hawaii; (2) the George R. Carter Library (now the property of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society); (3) the library of the Hawaiian Historical Society; (4) the library and collections of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. It would be unjust not to acknowledge the unfailing courtesy and helpfulness of the officials and attendants who have charge of these collections.

The Historical Commission has been able, out of the appropriations made by the Legislature, to obtain several hundred pages of important documentary material from the national archives of the United States, Great Britain, and Mexico, and from unofficial collections in the United States. Many of the illustrations in the book are from photographs made especially for this work. The members of the Historical Commission have given generously of time and counsel; the book owes much to their interest, knowledge of facts, and good judgment. Mr. G. V. Blue, formerly Instructor in History in the University of Hawaii, assisted in the preparation of chapters XXVII and XXX. Much help has been gotten from the results of the work of other laborers in the field of Hawaiian history, especially W. D. Alexander and Thomas G. Thrum. The authors are also

under obligation to other individuals too numerous to mention in a preface.

The questions and exercises at the ends of the various chapters were prepared by Miss Thelma K. Murphy of the Kauluwela School, Honolulu. Following some of these are references to a few books or special articles on topics treated in the chapters. In the Appendix is given a short list of the more important general books dealing with Hawaiian history, a summary of the government of Hawaii, and additional statistical tabulation of historical interest.

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A HISTORY OF HAWAII

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I

THE PACIFIC AND ITS ISLANDS

A large ocean. The Pacific Ocean is the largest body of water on earth. It is twice the size of the Atlantic Ocean, four times the size of the Indian Ocean, and more than ten times larger than the Arctic Ocean or the Antarctic Ocean. Its length from north to south measures nearly 8,000 miles, and along the Equator where it is widest the ocean measures more than 9,000 miles. When marked out on a map, it is seen that the Pacific Ocean occupies more space than all the continents combined and covers more than one third of the entire surface of the earth.

Borders of the Pacific. The Pacific is bounded in part by land and in part by water. On the east and northeast it is walled in by land extending from Cape Horn along South America, Central America, Mexico, the United States mainland, Canada, and Alaska, a distance equal to nearly one third of the circumference of the earth. Until the Panama Canal was dug and opened for navigation in 1914, this wall was unbroken and the Pacific was entirely shut off from the Atlantic. On the north the Pacific is connected with the Arctic Ocean by Bering Strait — only 54 miles wide. On the northwest the Pacific is bounded by the continent of Asia, which is bordered by the long chain of islands known as the Kuriles, Kamchatka, Japan, and Taiwan (Formosa). On the west the waters of the Pacific join the waters of the Indian Ocean by passing through straits between the

Philippines, Borneo, Celebes, Sumatra, Java, and Australia. On the south the Pacific Ocean is united with the Antarctic Ocean by two great branches; one of them, that between Australia and New Zealand, is 1,200 miles wide, and the other, that between New Zealand and South America, 5,000 miles wide.

Depths of the Pacific. The Pacific Ocean is not only very broad but also very deep. Its waters rest in an enormous basin with steep sides and a wrinkled bottom. In several places the water covering the bottom of the basin is 25,000 feet deep, and at one place near Mindanao, one of the Philippine Islands, it is 32,088 feet deep. The average depth of the whole Pacific is nearly 14,000 feet, which means that, if placed almost anywhere on the bottom of the ocean, the great mountain Mauna Kea, 13,823 feet in height, would be entirely covered with water. Only near the continental shores of America, Asia, and Australia and near islands is the depth of the Pacific less than 1,000 feet.

From this deeply sunken floor of the Pacific masses of land project upward. Many of them do not reach the surface of the water; some of them, called reefs, come just about to the surface and may be covered by water during high tide and exposed to view at low tide; others remain above the surface as islands.

Many islands. The number of islands in the Pacific Ocean is not known. Every one that is known is shown on the maps used by the captains of ships, but there is doubt about the position and size of several of them. There are islands on which no man has ever landed, and there may be islands which no one has seen.

The maps used in schools show only a few of the Pacific islands; many small islands which stand far away from continents and from larger islands are omitted, and there is not space on the map for showing all of the small islands which form part of a group of islands like Hawaii, Tahiti, and Tonga. Fiji consists of 470 islands, the Tuamotus of an equal number, and the Philippines of more than 7,000. In the whole Pacific there are possibly 30,000

100°
120°
140°
160°
Japan Sea
Yellow Sea
JAPAN
Over
5000 t
C H I N A
Bonin Is.
Formosa
Marcus I.
20
Wake I.
SIAM
ANAM
South China Sea
PHILIPPINE
ISLANDS
Guam I.
M I C R O N E S I A
Caroline Is.
Marshall Is.
Ponape I.
Kusaie
Nukuor I.
Malay pen.
Sumatra
Borneo
Celebes
Molucca Is.
Gilbert Is.
Nauru I.
0
Java Sea
Java
Papua
M E L A N E S I A
Solomon Is.
Rennel I.
New Hebrides
Futuna I.
20
New Caledonia
Loyalty
A U S T R A L I A
Lord Howe I.
40
INDIAN OCEAN
Tasmania
100°
120°
140°
Longitude East from
160°
Greenwi

160°
140°
120°
S IN FEET
2000 to 5000
1000 to 2000
el to 1000
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
CROPIC OF CANCER
HAWAII
20°
Johnston I.
P
I
F
I
C
Palmyra I.
Fanning I.
EQUATOR
0°
Phoenix Is.
Tongareva I.
Manihiki Is.
Marquesas Is.
Samoa
Society Is.
Tonga Is.
Vavau I.
Niue I.
Cook Is.
Tahiti
Mo'orea I.
Tuamotu Is.
Tongatabu I.
Rarotonga I.
Tubuai I.
Gambier I.
20°
OF CAPRICORN
C
E
Austral Is.
A
N
Rapa I.
Easter I.
(Rapa nui)
40°
THE ISLANDS
OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN
Chatham Is.
Longitude West 160° from Greenwich 140° 120°

islands, which is more than the islands in all the other four oceans. The Pacific Ocean may be called the Ocean of Islands.

Islands of different sizes and shapes. The islands are of different sizes and different shapes. Some of them are projecting rocks or short high ridges like Molokini, Kaula, and Mokolii; others are low flat masses or broken rings of islets of a few hundred acres in extent, like Laysan and Palmyra islands. There are many islands the size of Oahu or Maui, some of them flat and low and some of them rugged and mountainous. There are many islands larger than any in the Territory of Hawaii. Java is ten times the size of the island of Hawaii; New Caledonia is about the size of Massachusetts; and Borneo is larger than Texas.

Continental islands. The many thousands of islands in the Pacific are of several different kinds. Some of them, like Juan Fernandez (Robinson Crusoe's island) off the coast of Chile, Vancouver Island adjoining the State of Washington, the Japanese islands on the Asiatic coast, and Papua separated from Australia by the narrow Torres Strait, are *continental islands*. They consist of about the same kinds of rock and have many of the same plants and animals as the near-lying continents of which they were once a part. Other is ands, like New Zealand, New Caledonia, Fiji, Timor, Borneo, and the Philippines, are little continents in themselves or parts of continents which have been broken up into islands by the sinking of the surrounding land into the sea.

Oceanic islands. Most of the thousands of islands which rise above the sur ace of the Pacific are *oceanic islands;* the rocks which compose them and the animals and plants which live on them are different from those on the continents of North America, South America, Asia, and Australia. These oceanic islands include Hawaii, the Marquesas, the Tuamotus, the Austral, Cook, the Society, Tonga, Samoan, Ellice, Gilbert, Marshall, and Caroline Islands and the many small islands scattered between and beyond these groups.

Volcanic islands. Oceanic islands of the Pacific are of two kinds, *volcanic islands* and *coral islands*. Volcanic islands are composed of lava which has issued in a molten state from vents in the bottom of the sea and spread out over the sea floor, building up a mound of rock. In places where lava continues to come from the interior of the earth the mound may be built up until it stands above the surface of the water. Continued supply of lava may make this mound into a huge mass of lava, a volcano, which may remain as a mountain long after lava has ceased to flow. Some volcanic islands consist of one volcano; others have been made by the combined activities of many volcanoes. The kind of lava rock which composes the volcanic islands of the Pacific is *basalt* and is different from that which forms volcanic islands in some other parts of the world.

Coral islands. Coral islands are composed of limestone made of whole shells and parts of broken shells of many small animals which live in the sea and of algae, sea plants, of several kinds. Of the animals which form limestone, corals are the most abundant. The beginning of a coral island is a mass of land which rises nearly to the surface of the sea. To this land corals attach themselves and begin to spread and to grow upward nearly to the water's surface. Corals also attach themselves to the edges of continents, continental islands, and volcanic islands, forming reefs which border the shore and extend some distance seaward. Coral islands are not found everywhere, because corals can live only in warm, shallow, and clear salt water. No corals grow in New Zealand or in the Aleutian Islands because the water is too cold; and none grow near the mouths of fresh-water streams or of muddy streams.

Corals by themselves make coral reefs which may be exposed at low tides, though they do not make coral islands, for they die when out of water. But waves may break up a coral reef and make an island by piling the broken fragments so high that their top is above high tides. The waves not only break large

160°
159°
Longitude West
158°
Hanalei Bay
KAUAI
NIIHAU
Waimea
Kamalahi Channel
Kaula
Nawiliwili Bay
Kaieiwaho Channel
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS
Scale of statute miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60
Railroads
Highways
Steamship routes
Trails
HEIGHTS IN FEET
Over 10,000
6000 to 10,000
3000 to 6000
1500 to 3000
500 to 1500
Sea level to 500
TO GUAM AND MANILA
TO THE ANTIPODES
Waimea Bay
Laie
Waialua
Schofield Barracks
Waianae
Pearl Harbor
Honolulu
22°
21°
P
A
C
O
175°
170°
165°
Ocean Is.
Midway Is.
Pearl and Hermes Reef
Lisianski I.
Laysan I.
Gardner I.
French Frigate Shoal
Necker I.
25°
20°
HAWAIIAN ARCHIPELAGO
Scale of statute miles
0 50 100 150 200
Longitude West
from Greenwich

Greenwich
157°
156°
155°
NORTH AMERICA
ASIA
Petropavlovsk
Unalaska
Sitka
Vancouver
Victoria
Seattle
Portland
Vladivostok
Yokohama
Nagasaki
Shanghai
San Francisco
Los Angeles
San Diego
New Orleans
New York
Manila
Guam
Hawaiian Islands
Guaymas
Acapulco
Salina Cruz
Colon
Panama
Sandakan
Caroline Is.
Fiji Is.
Samoa
Tahiti
Paita
Callao
SOUTH AMERICA
AUSTRALIA
Sydney
Melbourne
Auckland
Wellington
Valparaiso
Punta Arenas
TO VANCOUVER, VICTORIA AND SEATTLE
TO SAN FRANCISCO
TO LOS ANGELES
TO PANAMA CANAL
TO SOUTH AMERICA
Kalaupapa Leper Settlement
MOLOKAI
Kaunakakai Settlement
Iao Valley
Waiuku
Kahului Bay
Haiku
MAUI
Lahaina
LANAI
Olowalu
Makawao
Mt. Haleakala
Hana
HAWAII NATIONAL PARK
KAHOOLAWE
Alenuihaha Channel
Halawa
Waipio Valley
HAWAII
Kawaihae
Waimea
Laupahoehoe
KOHALA
HAMAKUA
Mauna Kea
Mt. Hualalai
HILO
Hilo
Kailua
KONA
PUNA
Mauna Loa
Kealakekua Bay
HAWAII NATIONAL PARK
Kilauea
KAU
Kauai
Oahu
Molokai
Lanai
Maui
Kahoolawe
Hawaii
20°
19°
21°
22°

chunks from the reef but also grind the corals and shells into sand. This sand is carried by the wind and built into sand dunes, which make the new islands still higher and wider and provide a soil in which plants may grow. These islands made by the waves and the wind working together have various forms; some are straight narrow belts of land; others are shaped like a circle or a horseshoe; but all of them are low islands with the highest points not more than twenty or thirty feet above sea level.

Raised coral islands. The sea bottom beneath some coral reefs in the Pacific has risen toward the surface of the water, carrying the reefs up with it, thus making islands of coral and shell which may stand as high as one hundred feet or even more above sea level. Such islands are called *raised coral islands*.

Some islands better than others. As places for men to live these three kinds of oceanic islands are very different. The soil of coral islands and of raised coral islands is made of decomposed limestone; that of volcanic islands is volcanic dust and sand and mud made from decomposed lava. Little rain falls on coral islands, more on raised coral islands, and the most on volcanic islands. The plants, insects, and land shells are different on the three kinds of islands.

Oahu, a volcanic island. Oahu is an example of a volcanic island. Volcanoes which were active long ago have been worn down and cut into valleys and ridges and are now represented by the Koolau Range and the Waianae Mountains. Diamond Head, Punchbowl, and Koko Head are volcanoes which were active such a short time ago that their original form has not been much changed.

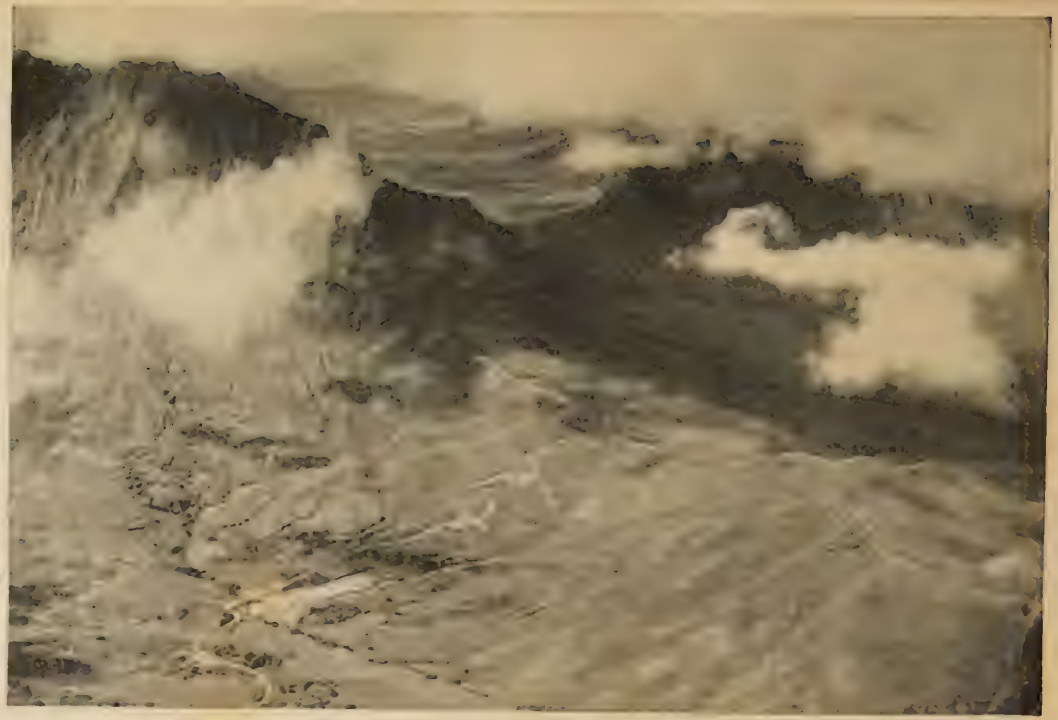
The mountains reach a height sufficient to check the moisture-laden trade winds, thus producing a fairly heavy rainfall on the windward side; but they are not high enough or continuous enough to prevent winds and rain from coming to the leeward side at Honolulu, Pearl Harbor, and Ewa. The valleys are broad

enough to serve as fields for *taro*, and the small streams which run in most of them supply water enough for necessary irrigation. Near the seashore are groves of coconuts, and in the valleys and on the ridges at different elevations are the native trees and shrubs — the *hau*, the *ohia*, the *kukui*, the *koa*, *pandanus*, and

From Headquarters Hawaiian Department U. S. A. Photograph by Signal Corps, U. S. Army.

Relief map of island of Oahu

other species of plants suitable for food, for making of clothing, for the building of homes and canoes, for making cooking utensils and farming implements, and for use as medicine. On the island are more than four hundred kinds of native flowering plants. In the forests are birds which may be used for food and whose feathers are used for decoration. The coast is bordered by coral reefs, through which are passages at the mouths of the



Photograph by Eleventh Photo Section, Air Service, U. S. A.

View of the island of Oahu, looking across the Nuuanu Pali

Honolulu may be seen in the distance

principal valleys. These passages permit the entrance of boats to safe landing places. The shallow waters at the mouths of streams make favorable sites for artificial fishponds; and the reefs themselves and the waters beyond furnish an abundant supply of sea food. On such an island as Oahu a fairly large number of people could live comfortably, either in villages or scattered about, and they could support themselves by hunting, agriculture, and fishing.

Most volcanic islands in the Pacific are well suited to human occupation; in olden times as well as to-day islands of this class, like Tahiti, Samoa, the Marquesas, Hawaii, Solomon Islands, Ponape, and Kusaie, were populated by a larger number of people in a more advanced stage of development than were the coral islands or the raised coral islands.

Funafuti, a coral island. Funafuti is a coral island and is an example of thousands which dot the surface of the Pacific. It is a circular island — an *atoll* — consisting of a ring of twenty-nine oddly shaped islets surrounding a central lagoon. It includes three hundred thirty-four acres and rises at its highest point but sixteen feet above the sea. The rock of the little islands which make up Funafuti is limestone made of chunks of coral and wind-blown coral sand, and the soil is a thin layer of decomposed limestone overlying hard rock. There are no streams; the water for drinking and cooking comes from shallow brackish wells or is rain water caught in bowls. The island is too low to intercept the rain-bearing clouds; rain falls just as it does over the open ocean, and droughts may occur any year or several times in a year. Because the soil of the island is thin and lacks the vegetable mold necessary to the growth of many species of plants, there are only a few kinds of trees and shrubs, those which will grow in sand and in the cracks of rocks. The trees suitable for making canoes are small. The food plants are the coco palm, which serves also for building material, and the wonderful pandanus, which furnishes a kind

of flour for bread and fiber for ropes and strings, mats, and clothing. By digging suitable trenches to procure moist earth and protection from drifting sand and by carefully tending the

Sketch of Funafuti

crop, taro and bananas are raised. Sea food and the flesh and eggs of sea birds are plentiful. On some of the little coral islands, like those which make up the Gilbert Islands, the

Marshall Islands, and the Tuamotus, several families may make a living, and on a few of them are communities of more than a hundred people. But no one lives on most of the many thousands of coral islands, like Laysan, Johnston, and Palmyra; many of them have never been inhabited. The reason for this is not only that food is scarce; the islands are so low that in times of great storms the waves would rush across the land, destroying the crops and drowning the peoples.

Niue, a raised coral island. Niue is a raised coral island fourteen miles long and ten miles wide and bordered nearly all the way around by sea cliffs. Its surface consists of several plateaus or terraces rising one above the other, the highest standing about 200 feet above sea level. The island is composed entirely of limestone made of coral, shells, and plants which grew on a coral reef before it was raised to its present position. The soil is decomposed limestone and, though thin, is rich and favorable for the growth of plants. There is abundant rainfall, but the water quickly runs into the ground through caves and open cracks in the limestone, and for drinking and cooking the natives use either rain water or the brackish water obtained from caves. There are many times of drought. There are but few kinds of trees on the island, but because of the rich soil they may grow luxuriously. Hardwood trees suitable for making small canoes are present. Pandanus and coconut are the principal plants, which serve alike for food, clothing, and building material. Fish and other sea foods are plentiful.

Raised coral islands, like Nauru, Loyalty, Vavau, and Makatea, may support a fairly large population after food plants introduced from other islands have been established.

Climate of the Pacific islands. One feature of oceanic islands which distinguishes them from continents and from many of the continental islands is the climate. The great body of water which surrounds oceanic islands never becomes so warm and never so cold as the land on and near continents. Therefore the tempera-

Bishop Museum Photograph.

Coast of Niue

All the rock is coral and the place where the buildings stand was once below the surface of the sea. There are no good landing places.

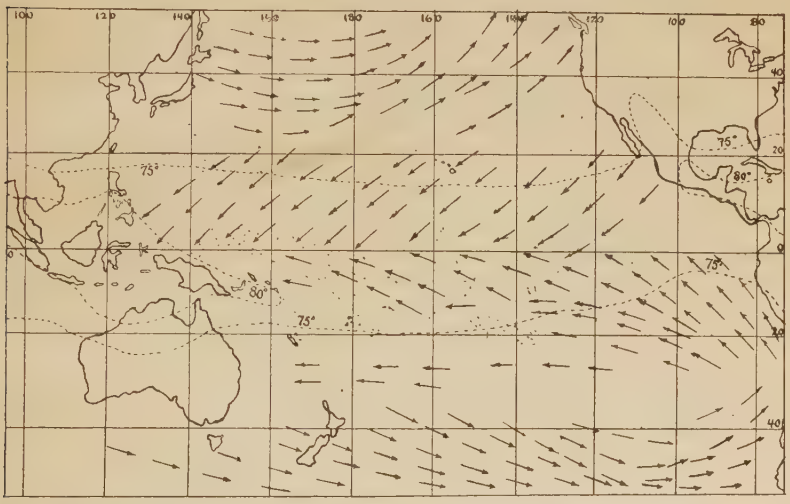
ture of the air over the open ocean and around and over the oceanic islands does not rise so high or fall so low. For the same reason the winter and summer temperatures are not very far apart, and the climate does not differ much from month to month. Places in Mexico in the same latitude as Hawaii and places in Australia in the same latitude as Rapa have cold winters and hot summers.

Temperature. The average annual temperature of nearly all the Pacific oceanic islands is 70 degrees. Only in a region extending west from Fiji does the average reach 80 degrees, and only in the Aleutian Islands and in the islands lying south of New Zealand are the winters uncomfortably cold.

Winds. Because of the vast stretches of water over which they may blow without interruption, the winds of the Pacific are more regular and uniform than are the winds in any other part of the world. These winds blow in different directions in different parts of the Pacific. In the belt of ocean lying approximately between the parallel of latitude 30 degrees north, which runs through Midway Island, and the parallel of latitude 60 degrees north, near the Bering Sea, the winds come generally from the west and are known as "westerly winds." From latitude 30 degrees north to near the equator the winds come from the northeast. For more than three hundred days in the year they blow so regularly and evenly that they have been called northeast trade winds (trade is the English form of an old word *trod*, which means path). Along the equator the winds blow feebly, generally from the east. From near the equator to latitude 30 degrees south are the southeast trade winds, and still farther south is the belt of strong westerly winds known to sailors as the "roaring forties."

In the two trade-wind belts, the winds sometimes blow from a direction opposite to their usual course, bringing with them the kind of weather known in Hawaii as "Kona storms." Sometimes the winds become hurricanes or typhoons. Most of these

hurricanes occur in the region between the Marshall Islands and China and west and southwest of Samoa — in Micronesia, Melanesia — and farther west in the Indian Ocean. But they sometimes occur in the winter months in Polynesia and are then very destructive. The houses may be torn down and the trees broken and uprooted. The hurricane winds and the high waves



Map showing prevailing winds and temperatures of the Pacific Ocean
Most of the islands are within the belt of Trade Winds and most of them have average temperatures of less than 80 degrees.

which come with them have swept some low coral islands bare of trees, buildings, and men and have sunk the canoes along the shores. These winds and the ocean currents made by the winds have aided boats in sailing in some directions and hindered them in sailing in other directions.

The map (pp. 2-3) shows that nearly all the Pacific volcanic islands, coral islands, and raised coral islands lie in the trade-wind belts in a region where the temperature and rainfall are favorable for human life.

Groups of Pacific islands. The Pacific oceanic islands are so numerous that it has been found convenient to consider them as three groups of islands: Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia. Each group contains volcanic islands, coral islands, and raised coral islands. In each group there are different plants and animals and different races of men. Hawaii includes the northernmost islands of Polynesia. (Maps, pp. 2–3 and 4–5.)

Questions and Exercises

Answer *yes* or *no* to the following:

1. Is the Pacific Ocean larger than Europe, Asia, North America, South America, and Australia, taken together?
2. If Mauna Kea were on the bottom of the deepest part of the Pacific, would its top form an island?
3. Are all of the islands of the Pacific on the map in your geography?
4. Are the Hawaiian Islands the largest group of islands of the Pacific?
5. Does the climate of oceanic islands have greater extremes of temperature than the climate of continental islands?
6. Is Hawaii part of Polynesia?

Give the evidences from the chapter which lead you to answer as you did each of the above questions.

7. Suppose you had to choose between living on a coral island and living on a volcanic island. Copy the following sentences in your notebook, filling in the blanks, to give reasons for your choice:

   a. The volcanic islands have —— water supply.
   b. The rainfall of coral islands is ——.
   c. There are more mountains in —— islands.
   d. The scenery of —— islands is more beautiful.
   e. Ocean storms dash over —— islands and destroy ——.
   f. There is —— soil on volcanic islands.
   g. There are more plants on —— islands.
   h. More people can live on —— islands.

8. Describe four prevailing winds of the Pacific Ocean. Show their relation to the temperature in different parts of the Pacific Ocean. What winds affected favorably for human life the temperature and rainfall of most of the Pacific islands?

For Further Reading

General references which may be consulted throughout this entire book, both for pleasure and profit, are:

Chamberlain, James F. and Arthur H. — *Oceania.*
Dana, R. H. — *Two Years before the Mast;* Chapter XIX.
London, (Mrs.) Charmian K. — *Our Hawaii*, and *The Log of the Snark.*
London, Jack. — *The Cruise of the Snark.*
Ogilvie, P. M. — *International Waterways.*
Stephens, H. M., and Bolton, H. E. — *The Pacific Ocean in History.*

II

THE PACIFIC PIONEERS

Pacific islanders came from Asia. Far back in the history of the human race the ancestors of the natives living on islands in Polynesia, Melanesia, and Micronesia had their homes on the great Asiatic continent. The first inhabitants of Australia, Java, Borneo, and the Philippines also came from the Asiatic region. The route by which they came is marked out by islands, peninsulas, and straits. From the continent of Asia down along the Malay Peninsula to Sumatra, Java, Borneo, the Celebes, the Moluccas, and on to Papua and Australia it is possible to sail from island to island without going out of sight of land. The large islands are joined together by chains of small islands, and the passage from one to another is no more difficult or dangerous than to go from Maui to Lanai or from Oahu to Molokai. In good weather the crudest craft, even a log or a raft, might safely take the voyage.

Pacific islands are far apart. The islands of Melanesia lying between Papua or New Guinea and Fiji are not very far apart, and primitive canoes might make the journey from one to another of them in two or three days. But east, northeast, and southeast of Fiji the islands are widely separated; most of them are very small and low and cannot be seen at a distance. Most of the island groups and some single islands are from 100 to 300 miles from their nearest neighboring island. Easter Island is 1,100 miles from the outermost island of the Gambier group, and Hawaii is 900 miles from Fanning Island, the nearest land which might be used as a stopping place. To cover these great distances

requires boats which can live through rough seas, a way of carrying food for voyages of weeks and months, and fearless men who are skilled in navigation. Early in the history of the human race there were no such boats and no such men. This makes it possible to understand why Java and the Philippines and Australia were inhabited probably more than 10,000 years ago and also why many of the Polynesian islands were first seen by men within the last 2,000 years, some of them within the last 500 years. It is probable that Polynesia is the last habitable part of the world to be occupied by the human race. It is remarkable that Hawaii, so far removed from America, Asia, and from the other islands in the Pacific, was found at all before the days of big sailing vessels.

Why the pioneers came. The causes which led the early Polynesians to make short voyages to near-lying islands in the western Pacific and to the remote and widely separated islands of the central and eastern Pacific are not known, but they are probably the same as the causes which have led to the migration of other primitive people in other parts of the world. To escape slaughter in battle some people were forced to find new homes in more favorable places. The destruction of food plants and homes by storm waves which sometimes sweep across low islands led to the abandonment of fields and village sites. Some migrations of small groups of people were probably involuntary; the boats were blown to sea and carried wherever wind and currents directed until land came in sight. For other migrations plans may deliberately have been made for the purpose of finding new islands where fishing was better and where food for an increasing population was easier to obtain. There is evidence also that many migrations were the result of love of adventure — a deliberate intent to find something new. When a new island was discovered, the adventurer made his way back to his people, only to return with his family or with a company of immigrants who were attracted to the new-found land.

This love of adventure which led to the finding of islands, fishing grounds, food plants, and choice places for settlements is a marked characteristic of all branches of the Polynesian race.

The routes from Asia. The precise routes taken by the fearless explorers are not known. The migrations were many and were spread over centuries of time. Also the small companies of adventurers and scouts and the larger companies of immigrants came by different routes. The route through Java to the Fiji Islands and eastward is marked by stranded remnants of Polynesians at Futuna (Erronan) in the New Hebrides, at Rennel in the Solomons, and at the Ontong Java (Lord Howe) Islands. The Polynesian settlement at Nukuor in the Caroline Islands may mark a northern route by which immigrants came through the Marshall Islands, Gilbert Islands, and Ellice Islands to Samoa and perhaps to Hawaii. It is possible that some adventurous companies came by a yet more northern route through the Marianas Islands or the Carolines directly to Hawaii. After immigrants had become established in such places as Samoa and Tahiti, these centers probably were used as bases for exploration of islands in their vicinity.

When the Polynesians came. Some Polynesians speak of their former homeland as "Hawaiki," a faintly remembered faraway region from which many choice things came and to which the souls of men returned after death. The first emigrations from this homeland took place so long ago that the record is lost. But at the beginning of the Christian era colonists were in the Pacific, and it is known that during the eighth and ninth centuries eighty-five islands and island groups had been discovered — islands lying far apart on both sides of the equator.

The Maoris of New Zealand trace their descent from immigrants who reached the islands about the year 1400. But these immigrants had learned about the country from earlier voyagers and came with their wives and children, carrying with them the sweet potato and taro, their household idols, medicinal plants,

and domestic animals. They found New Zealand occupied by people of their own race, who had come from different places, and learned that the Chatham Islands lying eastward across 500 miles of stormy sea had been settled.

As early as the thirteenth century the geography of the Pacific was fairly well known. The colonists were familiar with the mountains, volcanoes, rivers, reefs, and forests and knew the regions of large rainfall and small rainfall and the direction of winds and currents. All this was before Columbus had discovered America, or Balboa the Pacific; before Magellan had crossed the Pacific to the Philippines.

Pioneer navigators. Long before European navigators had ventured far from land, Polynesians were sailing back and forth among the dots of land in the broad Pacific, making voyages thousands of miles in length. The Polynesian outposts in the Carolines and at Easter Island are nearly 9,000 miles apart and 3,800 miles of water lie between Hawaii and New Zealand. The route from Tahiti to New Zealand, used many times by Polynesian boats, is 2,200 miles in length. Yet these widely separated lands and intervening islands were not only known but were settled and served as distributing points for the shoots and seeds of such food plants as the banana, coconut, yam, breadfruit, and taro. Even the west coast of America may have been visited by adventurous navigators.

Long voyages. The facts about some of these voyages are known. Four early trips from Hawaii to Tahiti, 2,400 miles, are recorded. Uenga, a twelfth-century sea rover, sailed from Samoa to Tongareva, thence to Tubuai, and through the Tuamotus to Tahiti. The entire journey covered about 4,000 miles, most of it against the trade winds. Tukuiho, sailing from Rapa, discovered Rapa-nui (Easter Island) after a voyage of 2,500 miles with no intervening stopping places. Karika, a Samoan chief, discovered and colonized Rarotonga, and the thirteen voyages of Tangiia cover a distance of more than 18,000 miles.

No compass used. The Polynesians readily made their way across the ocean without the aid of a compass or a log book. During the daytime they guided themselves by the sun, by the flight of birds, and the shape and color of clouds, and in stormy weather by the trend of the waves driven before the prevailing winds. A man with a knowledge of clouds and rainbows and winds ranked high in the esteem of the people. Some of the Pacific peoples made crude charts on which the trends of the wave crests in the trade wind belts were indicated by parallel sticks stretched on a frame, and the number and position of the islands included on the chart were shown by little pieces of stone or coral placed in proper position.

Sailing by stars. As guides in voyages far from land, stars were chiefly used. Probably many voyages started at night when stars were visible and at times of the year when recognized stars remained for some time above the horizon. A favorable time was when the dog-star, Sirius, appeared. Polynesian navigators were familiar with the position of important stars and knew of their change in position from month to month. Five planets were known and named and the time and place of their appearance kept in mind. Thirteen "canoe steerers' stars," among them Sirius, Regulus, and the Pleiades, were known, together with the months in which they appeared, the time they reached the zenith, and the times of rising and setting. In the Northern Hemisphere, Aldebaran was used, and the North Star was known as one in an unchangeable position, which could be relied upon throughout the year. The stars in an east-west belt over the equator were commonly used as guides in sailing.

A youth studying navigation in Hawaii was taught to view the heavens as a cylinder on which were marked "highways of navigation stars." One highway led from Noholoa (North Star) to Newa (Southern Cross). The portion of the heavens east of this line was "the bright road of Kane," that to the west was the "highway of Kanaloa." A line drawn east and west through

the place of the sun in winter was "the black shining road of Kane," and one drawn through the southern limit of the sun's course in summer was "the black shining road of Kanaloa." Within these limits are the stars to be used in sailing; outside, are the "strange" stars. The young man was taught that, in going southward to Tahiti, new sets of stars will be seen and that after passing the equator the North Star disappears. In the legend of Hawaii-loa, the navigator Makalii sailing eastward is said to have used Iao and Hokuula (Aldebaran) to guide him to Hawaii. On a journey from Hawaii to Tahiti the Southern Cross was the guide.

Kinds of boats. In making their voyages among the islands the Polynesians made use of three kinds of boats: the single canoe, the outrigger canoe, and the twin canoe. The simplest form of single canoe — a short, narrow log hollowed out by chipping with stone adzes — was little used. Such canoes capsize easily and are suitable for little else than fishing in lagoons and in shallow waters. Where large trees were available, single canoes with lengths exceeding fifty feet were made; some Maori single canoes were more than one hundred feet long and five feet wide and were capable of carrying one hundred thirty men and a cargo of provisions on voyages within bays, up rivers, and along the coast.

Outrigger canoe. The outrigger canoe is the type of craft most common in Polynesia. By the attachment of an outrigger, small narrow canoes are made seaworthy and are much less liable to overturn; if carefully constructed they may be safely used for voyages of considerable length even in rough seas.

Twin canoe. The twin canoe consists of two canoes placed side by side, several feet apart, fastened together by wood cross-pieces or by a platform which occupies the space between them. It is like a raft which can be paddled from both canoes or sailed by erecting masts. On the platform of large twin canoes canopies were erected to shield the voyagers from sun and rain, and even

thatched houses were built which served the same purpose as cabins on modern steamships. Such craft were remarkably seaworthy, and the larger ones could accommodate as many as 200 men, women, and children, together with domestic animals and

Outrigger canoe *Photograph by R. J. Baker.*

the provisions necessary for a long voyage. One canoe of a Kamehameha twin canoe, cut from a single log, measured 108 feet.

Canoes with sails. Many outrigger canoes and twin canoes were equipped with sails made of pandanus or coconut leaves, attached to masts which were permanent or set up when needed. For long sailing voyages with canoes, outriggers were faster and were considered safer than twin canoes, as twin canoes when broken apart were helpless.

Importance of outrigger and twin canoes. It was with the aid of such craft that the traditional war expeditions and peaceful migrations were carried on, and in the life of the Polynesians they played a very important part. They were the only means of travel from island to island and were required for fishing. Nearly every man, woman, and grown child could handle a canoe while fishing or in battle or during the frequent regattas (races) in which as many as one hundred canoes took part. But to build a big seaworthy canoe with nothing but stone adzes, stone chisels and coconut-fiber lashings was the work of trained craftsmen. There were building superintendents and special workmen for making hulls, sails, and outriggers. The principal chiefs kept canoe builders at their courts; other people hired them. The canoe meant so much to the island dwellers that it is not surprising to learn that each canoe had a name and that special ceremonies and special chants were associated with felling the tree, shaping the wood, and finishing and launching the boat

Pioneers had little food. The pioneers of the Polynesian race must have been surprised and disappointed at the scarcity of food on the islands to which they came. The region is less well supplied with food plants than are most other parts of the world. The first comers to America found corn, potatoes, and the fruits of many trees and vines. The early settlers in Asia and in Indonesia found wild rice, coconuts, breadfruit, and taro. It was easy for them to get the food they needed. But the men who first landed in Hawaii, Tahiti, Samoa, and other Polynesian islands found that few of the plants furnished food in sufficient abundance to support life. There was no wheat, barley, rye, or corn for flour, no rice, taro, breadfruit, sweet potato, *papaia*, custard apple, sugar cane, mountain apple, or fleshy fruits. A kind of coconut with small fruit grew in a few places. Perhaps a small banana and a kind of yam were to be found on some high islands. The native food plants are those which nowadays are little used.

The fleshy leaves and shoots of *ieie*, the cabbage tree (Pisonia), purslane, *hau*, and the seeds of *pandanus* were cooked or eaten raw; also the underground stems of ferns, fern shoots, and seaweeds. The fruit of a nettle, *toa-tou*, was eaten in the South Pacific. A few raspberries and huckleberries and perhaps also the *vi* apple grew on some high islands. The seed of palms and the fruit of the "Tahitian chestnut" were used wherever they could be found. Few of these plants furnish much food even in places where they grow well. The underground stem of the fern and the seaweeds are the best of them.

Bishop Museum Photo.

Pandanus tree

The pandanus. The plant most relied upon for food was the pandanus. For the earliest immigrants to Polynesia the pandanus was the "staff of life," just as in later times taro in Hawaii and breadfruit in the Marquesas were the chief foods. The pandanus grows everywhere in Polynesia north of New Zealand. Even on the poor soil of coral islands great

groves of it were growing before any human beings entered the Pacific. The kernels of the nuts are eaten, and the ripe fruit may be boiled down into a molasses. Its greatest use is in making a kind of bread by grating the soft parts of the fruit and drying the pulp in the sun. After drying, it is pressed into a hard mass and when wanted for use is moistened, kneaded, and baked. It is an easily digested, wholesome food which may be kept for a long time without spoiling.

The chestnut. The "Tahitian chestnut," which now grows abundantly in many Polynesian islands, produces cone-shaped masses of small, white, fragrant flowers and a flat kidney-shaped fruit, which when baked is nourishing food.

Animal food scarce. Animal food likewise was remarkably scarce. In no part of the world were there fewer animals useful to man. Before the immigrants came, only the bat and perhaps the rat represented the higher animals. On the land there were birds, insects, and snails, but no cattle, swine, sheep, deer, or other wild animals suitable for food. Fish and other forms of sea life were the chief animal food of the pioneers, and nearly all kinds were eaten. They were caught by hooks, nets, and spears by several ingenious methods. Fish traps of several kinds were used, and in New Zealand great weirs or dams were built across rivers to catch the enormous eels living in tidal waters. In Hawaii and elsewhere fish ponds were walled in with stone.

Plants brought by the pioneers. The first Polynesian immigrants probably soon learned that pandanus, seaweeds, and the roots, stems, leaves, and fruit of a few other plants could not provide enough food for many families and that if their race was to increase in numbers and be free from the fear of starvation other kinds of plant food must be obtained. These early settlers were aware that other islands to which they might wish to go did not have the food which was needed. Probably word was sent back to those who were planning to come that seeds and

shoots for planting must be brought along. In seeking new islands to settle, the canoes came prepared to plant the necessary crops. Thus it came about that the food plants which the immigrants knew in the places from which they came were introduced into their new homes.

Photo by R. J. Baker.

Top of a coconut tree showing the fruit

The coconut. The Polynesian pioneers had been familiar with the coconut, and probably this was brought in at a very early date. The first canoes which came doubtless carried coconuts for food along the way, and any nuts which remained after the party had landed on a strange island were planted, for the usefulness of the coconut has been known for thousands of years. In the tropical Pacific this wonderful tree stands first among useful plants. The kernels of old coconuts and of green coconuts are eaten just as they come from the shell; the sprouting coconut and the green sprouts of the tree itself are much relished. The water of green coconuts is a common drink; and sweetmeats are made of grated coconut kernel. The coconut tree not only furnishes abundant food of good quality, but provides the material needed for the frame-

work, sides, and roof of a house. Its leaves can be made into thatch baskets, sleeping mats, and clothes; its fibers into fishing lines and ropes. The shell of the nuts is material for bowls and other food utensils; the dried husks make charcoal for fires; and from the trunk of the tree are made paddles, clubs, and spears. From the juice of the nut medicines are made, and the oil is used for cooking and for anointing the body. If no other plant were in the Pacific islands, the early settlers would have had the means of feeding themselves, of getting the necessary clothing and shelter, and of catching birds and fish.

Breadfruit

The coconut grows best near the seashore, where there is little soil except sand and fragments of coral rock — just the place where the immigrants to uninhabited islands must establish their first settlements in order to make use of sea food and to be near their canoes. But very few coconuts will grow of themselves. They must be planted, cared for while they are young, and replanted after they have been broken down or uprooted by strong winds and heavy waves. Coconuts became the food of tens of thousands of Pacific islanders because of the hard and skillful work of the pioneer settlers.

The breadfruit. Another food plant introduced by the ancestors of the present Polynesians is the breadfruit, which has its native home in the islands westward toward Asia. There are more than two hundred varieties which grow in different places and on different kinds of soil. This tall wide-spreading tree furnishes shade, resin for calking canoes, and lumber for making houses, canoes, furniture, and household utensils. Its greatest value is for food. In Tahiti, the Marquesas, Rarotonga, Samoa, and other high islands south of the equator, breadfruit was the common food, eaten every day. Breadfruit, like the coconut, must be planted on the right kind of soil and where the rainfall is favorable, and it must be carefully tended while it is young.

Taro. Taro is a very important food among the Pacific islanders; like the coconut and the breadfruit it was introduced by the early immigrants. It is the starchy tuberous stem (commonly called root) of the taro plant, the leaves of which also serve as food. After baking, the root was eaten as a vegetable, but the commonest use was in making *poi*, a starchy paste which was the principal food in many Polynesian islands. To grow a taro crop required skillful preparation of the soil in planting and a great amount of labor while the crop was growing. It was cultivated in many islands but was most used in Hawaii.

Sweet potato and yam. The sweet potato and the yam were brought into Polynesia at an early day and were carried from island to island until the people in nearly all parts of the Pacific knew these plants and cultivated them to some extent. In Hawaii fields of sweet potatoes were once as common as fields of taro, and in New Zealand, where the breadfruit and taro do not thrive, the sweet potato became a very important part of the food supply.

Dogs, swine, and chickens. The Polynesian pioneers soon learned of the remarkable scarcity of native animals suitable for food. They brought in dogs, swine, and poultry — animals not

too large to carry in canoes — and found them so valuable that they were taken from island to island and became important for food. Hogs were nowhere plentiful; in some islands they were reserved for chiefs or eaten only on festive occasions. Dogs were more abundant, and those which were to be eaten were fed on breadfruit, coconut, yams, and fruit. Poultry seems to have been less desired than wild birds.

Food eaten raw. In the Pacific islands, coconuts, seaweed, pandanus nuts, and young shoots and leaves of many plants and several kinds of sea food may safely be eaten raw. But the value of most food is increased by cooking, and some uncooked foods are poisonous. In the early days of the human race all foods, both plant and animal, had to be eaten in their natural state, for the use of fire was not known.

Making fire. Before a method of making fire was invented by man, the only fire known was that in volcanoes and lightning, and when fire was needed it was carried from place to place on land or in canoes and kept constantly burning. If the fire went out it must be renewed by bringing new fire from its source. For this reason one of the greatest discoveries of mankind is the knowledge that fire may be made by rubbing two sticks together. The Polynesians made use of this discovery in a special way; they invented the "fire plow." A piece of wood, held firmly, was rubbed briskly back and forth with the pointed end of another stick until a groove was made. The wood dust made by the rubbing was gathered at one end of the groove, and quick rubbing with the pointed stick was repeated until smoke was seen. The smoking pile of dust was then blown into flame and over it were placed dry fine shavings, leaves, or twigs. The fire could then be kept burning, or it could be made again.

The imu. With the friendly fire at hand the way was open for devising methods of cooking. The Polynesian pioneers had no metal or earthenware utensils and knew nothing of boiling food in water. But they were familiar with the underground

oven, *imu*, which in many islands is still used. Many families had their own ovens, but in some places all the people of a district united in building the oven and preparing the food. A shallow pit was dug and filled with small stones and firewood. After the stones had become hot, the breadfruit, taro, or sweet potatoes were put in and covered with leaves. Other heated stones were

Photo by R. J. Baker.

Preparing to bake a pig in the underground oven

placed over the leaves and the whole covered with green leaves and earth.

After this baking and steaming the vegetables were ready for eating. The cooked breadfruit and the taro were also used for making *poi*, a pasty mass which took the place of bread. In some islands great masses of breadfruit paste were stored away in pits and kept for a year or more. This was done to provide food for times when for any reason the crops might fail. Fish

were sometimes broiled over hot stones or embers, but the usual method of preparing animals for food was by baking in the underground oven. The animal, which had been carefully cleaned and filled with hot stones, was wrapped in leaves, placed on hot stones, and covered with other leaves, heated stones, mold, and earth. To cook a dog or a hog in this manner required about four hours.

Principal foods. Soon after an island was settled its population lived chiefly on foods which had been introduced, and for 2,000 years the vegetable foods of the Polynesians were coconut, breadfruit, taro, yam, banana, and sweet potato. The chief food of the Marquesans, Tahitians, and Samoans was breadfruit; of the Maoris of New Zealand, sweet potato; of the Hawaiians, taro and sweet potato; just as the chief food of the Chinese is rice and of the Anglo-Saxons, flour made from grains. Principally on these plant foods and fish the Polynesian race has been nourished.

No work animals. The Pacific pioneers probably knew of horses, oxen, and water buffalos. But these large animals could not be taken from place to place in canoes, and the Polynesians therefore had no animals which could be used for hauling heavy stones and timbers and for clearing and cultivating land. The people traveled on foot or in boats and carried on their backs or dragged along the ground everything which had to be moved. All plowing and digging necessary to prepare a field for crops and to keep it free from weeds was necessarily done by hand.

Races of people. The people who colonized the Pacific islands belong to three races: Polynesian, Micronesian, and Melanesian.

The Polynesians. The Polynesians are not a pure race — all descended from the same ancestors. Like the English, the French, and the Americans, they are a mixed race made up of men and women of different races who came from different places at different times. By intermarriage since they came into the Pacific these people have become more mixed. It is possible to

recognize four types of people among the natives of the Polynesian islands; the Polynesians themselves recognize the differences and have terms to describe them. The people known as "typical Polynesians" live in all the islands, but more of them in southern than in northern Polynesia. They resemble the Caucasians and in several respects are like the race from which Europeans have sprung. They are unlike the Melanesians, and are quite different from the Negro.

The Micronesians. The Micronesians are a combination of races. Among them are some people who resemble the Polynesians; but most of them show mixture with the Japanese, the Filipinos, and the Melanesians. The people on the different islands — Marshall, Caroline, and Marianas — although all Micronesians, are almost like different races. The Micronesians are said to lack the courtesy and hospitality of the Polynesians. They are able warriors, skillful fishermen and navigators, and make fine mats and clothing by weaving bark and leaves. As farmers and gardeners the Micronesians are much less skillful than the Polynesians and the Melanesians.

The Melanesians. The Melanesians differ widely among themselves in bodily form, language, and customs; but as a race they differ much from both the Polynesians and the Micronesians. Their features resemble the Negro. Their color varies from brown to black, and their hair is crisp, curly, or even tufted. They are ferocious warriors and once practiced cannibalism to an extent beyond that of other Pacific peoples. They are less intelligent than Polynesians, but their skill in carving and decoration is remarkably good.

Questions and Exercises

1. What conditions can you imagine which would make you willing to start for San Francisco in a canoe?

2. Compare the conditions you have just stated with those which led the early Polynesians to travel over the Pacific.

3. What would you have to know if you were to reach San Francisco in a canoe?

4. Give reasons why special ceremonies took place during the building of a canoe.

5. The early Polynesians experienced hardships when they reached new islands. What were they? Would we experience them to-day? Why?

6. The native Hawaiian is a Polynesian. Write the following list in your notebook and put a cross before the group which the Hawaiian most resembles: *a.* Melanesian, *b.* Caucasian, *c.* Japanese, *d.* Negro, *e.* Micronesian.

7. If you landed on a tropical island and knew there would be only one plant on it what would you like it to be? Give all the reasons you can to support your choice.

For Further Reading

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III

SOME POLYNESIAN CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS

Polynesian civilization. During the 2,000 years which may have elapsed between the coming of the first Polynesian immigrant and the visit of Captain Cook, the Pacific colonists had increased until perhaps 800,000 Polynesians were living on the many islands suitable for habitation. They were too widely scattered to form a nation under one government; but they had lived so long near each other and had been so long separated from people in other parts of the world that they became one race or group of people. No other people look like them or do things as they do them.

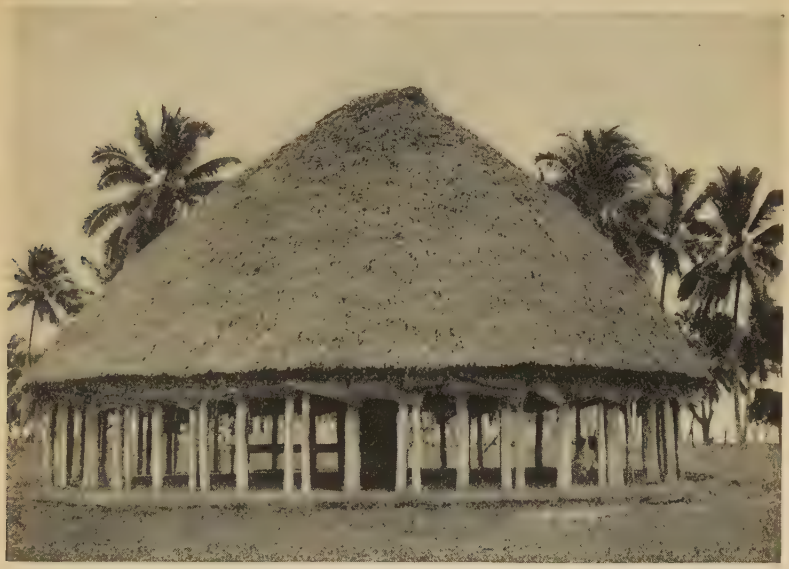
As one group of colonists after another came into the Pacific they brought with them ideas and customs from their old homes and changed these ideas and customs in ways more suitable to life in their new homes. Thus there grew up a Polynesian civilization which is remarkable because it was made by a people who knew nothing of the use of metals.

The Polynesians had no iron, no pottery, and no beasts of burden. Their tools, weapons, and utensils were of stone, wood, shell, teeth, or bone. From hard wood or soft wood tipped with hard wood, effective spears and harpoons were made. Bowls and boxes were made with stone tools and engraved with stone or tooth knives. The canoe maker's tool chest contained adzes of stone, chisels of stone, shell, or bone, rasps and files of coral, and polishers made of coral or the rough skin of fish. In place of screws and nails cord made of fibers was used.

Although they lived in a "Stone Age," the Polynesians learned to make good use of all the things at hand and showed skill in

the making of houses and clothing and in the cultivation of fields; in their art, government, and religious ideas they reached a high stage of development.

Houses. The Polynesian house was well suited to the tropical climate. It was chiefly a place to sleep; cooking, washing, and other household activities were usually performed in the open.



Bishop Museum Photograph.

Samoan round house

The ordinary family dwelling house was about ten feet wide and twenty feet long. It was set among trees, usually on a stone platform raised a few feet above the ground and extending beyond the walls of the house as a *lanai.* There were also large houses in which several families lived together and houses used for public meetings. The essential part of the house was the roof of thatch supported by poles. The sides of some houses were also thatched; many others were not walled in. The floor was the stone platform covered with mats, and there were no parti-

tions to separate rooms. The material for the framework was the trunks of coconut, breadfruit, or other trees fastened together with sennit (fiber) lashings skillfully arranged. The thatch was usually dense layers of coconut, pandanus, or breadfruit leaves fastened to rods of bamboo or hibiscus. In Hawaii

Hawaiian grass house in Bishop Museum, Honolulu

grass was used for thatch, and in New Zealand, where timber is abundant and material suitable for thatch is scarce, it was customary to make the entire house of planks hewed and carved with stone adzes.

Little clothing needed. On low tropical islands and along the shore of high volcanic islands, where most Polynesians lived, the need for clothing was small. A loin cloth (called *malo* in Hawaii) for men, a short skirt for women, and sandals for fishing

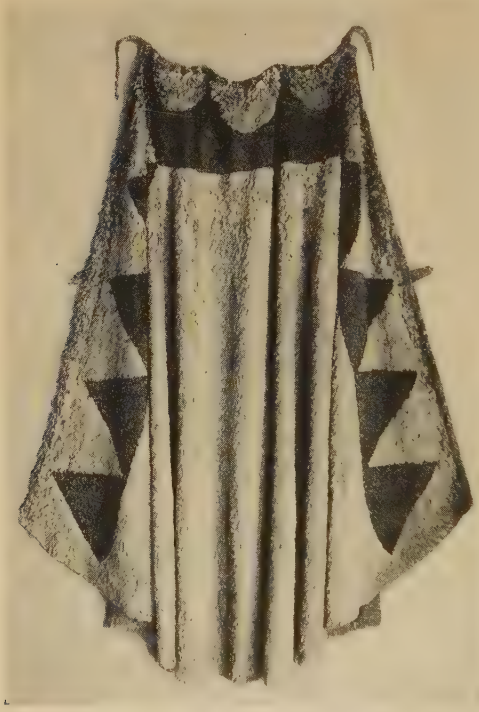
on the reefs or walking on lava were the only essential articles. But the instinct for adornment led to the making of skirts, cloaks, and even headdresses which were attractive as well as useful.

Dress for women and men. The usual Polynesian full dress for women consisted of several yards of cloth wrapped about the waist and extending below the knees; other pieces placed one above the other were hung from the neck behind and in front, giving the arms full play, and were tucked in at the waist to form a girdle. The pieces of clothing were arranged to suit the fancy. The dress of men was similar except that the skirts were sometimes tucked up about the loins. In rainy weather mats took the place of cloth. Skirts made of leaves or fiber were also widely used. The material used for clothing by the early Polynesian immigrants was that found in the islands to which they came.

Use of pandanus. To prepare pandanus for clothing, leaves of suitable length are stripped from strong young plants and drawn through a fire, one at a time, to make them pliable and to soften the sawlike spines on the edges and midribs. After soaking in sea water for a week or more these pliable strips are bleached in the sun and their rough edges stripped off. The leaves are then made flat and smooth by drawing them back and forth about a stake stuck in the ground, rolled in balls, and stored in a dry place until needed. To make a mat for clothing or a blanket the strips are plaited.

Plants for making tapa. Even before coming to their new island homes the Polynesian immigrants were familiar with the method of making *tapa* or paper cloth from the inner bark of trees and knew that for clothing and for bed blankets this tapa was better than mats and leaves. Wherever the materials were to be had, tapa was made. On some islands no suitable trees grew; on other islands one or more kinds of trees had an inner bark which could be made into paper clothing. In Hawaii the *mamaki*, the *oloa*, and the *akala* could be used. But none of the

native Polynesian plants were as useful for tapa making as the breadfruit tree and the *wauke*, which were brought to the islands from places farther west. Wauke (paper mulberry) is the best material. Slips of it were carried from place to place, planted, and cultivated with such care that it now grows on most Pacific islands. In New Zealand, where tapa-making plants do not thrive, fine mats woven of native "flax" were commonly used for clothing.



Bishop Museum Photograph.
Hawaiian feather cloak

Tapa difficult to make. To make an ordinary piece of coarse plain tapa is difficult and requires great skill. Even greater skill and knowledge were demanded of the few men and women who could dye the tapas with delicate shades of gray, red, brown, blue, and yellow and print on them the beautiful patterns which make the old Hawaiian tapas priceless.

Personal adornment. The Polynesians were not content with making clothing for everyday use. Their strong desire for personal beauty led them to undergo the painful process of tattooing, and many ways were found to make their dress attractive. Headdresses of ropes of human hair were used, and all Polynesians

were exceedingly fond of flowers as personal ornaments. In the use of feathers the Polynesians surpassed all other people. The Hawaiian feather cloak ranks with the Persian rug as a masterpiece of human skill.

Making gardens. The Polynesians were successful gardeners. They made use of such native plants as were suitable for food, clothing, and medicine and introduced many plants which were better than the ones which they found in the islands to which they came. They raised crops of sweet potatoes and taro sufficient to feed a large population, which means that they had a good knowledge of soil, water, and weather and knew when and how to plant and to cultivate. The preparation of a taro patch requires much hard labor. The ground must be cleared of stones and brush, leveled, and built into terraces. Walls must be constructed for each terrace. To supply water, ditches must be dug along the sides and the bottoms of valleys. Among the remarkable examples of ancient Hawaiian skill and industry are the irrigation channels which wind along the slopes as walled stone ditches and cross the gulleys in wooden flumes.

Polynesian language. The Polynesian language is soft and musical; there are few harsh sounds. It contains more than 20,000 words and the number in everyday use was remarkably large for a people whose language had not been reduced to writing. These words and their combinations are capable of expressing a great variety of fine shades of meaning.

How language was preserved. It is surprising that without writing to preserve their language the widely separated groups of Polynesians should have retained a common language for some thousands of years. But their language was preserved with great fidelity. Much attention was given to the use of words and to pronunciation. Children were trained to apply the right words to objects and to ideas, and young men who had not learned to use the language correctly were usually not permitted to speak in public. The best trained chiefs, generals, and priests were

truly great orators, and eloquence was so highly prized and considered so necessary for a leader that one who did not have it might not be chosen as a chief.

Poetry. Poetry also was highly prized and was used at all festivals and rites. The poet was highly honored.

Story-telling. Story-telling was an interesting feature of Polynesian life. Daytime and evenings groups of men, women, and children might be seen listening to tales of gods and heroes and distant lands. These tales were told by a special class of story-tellers who did little or nothing else but make up stories and recite them. Besides the tales which were widely known and related by the common people, there were tales told in a special language understood only by the *alii*, or chiefs. Much time also was given to telling riddles and conundrums and to playing games based on some form of old fairy tale or mystery story.

Kinds of stories. Most Polynesian stories are unlike those in other parts of the world. There are almost no animal stories except those about the shark, the whale, the turtle, and birds. There are stories about places to which it is forbidden to go and about maidens who were carefully guarded. The commonest stories are about demigods, beings like *Maui*, who could do what men do but who also had some supernatural power. Many of the stories express the beauty of nature, the color of flowers, the form of clouds, the strength of mountains, and the look of the sea. Hawaiian stories have much about the waterfall, the forest, the rainbow, the volcano, and the surf breaking on the coral reefs.

Chanting and dancing. Out of the story-telling grew the chant. The Hawaiian *oli* is merely a story recited like a chant, the *mele* is also a chanted story, and the *hula* is a story in which a musical chant is accompanied by gestures. Chanting and dancing went together. Some dances and chants were known to nearly all Polynesians, but each island group had also its own kinds. The Hawaiians and the Samoans paid special attention to dancing,

the Marquesans and Tahitians to chanting. Music such as is heard to-day was not known in Polynesia before the coming of the white man.

Sports. *Swimming.* Outdoor sports received much attention. Among them swimming stands first. Even children swam long distances and were accustomed to dive, and to ride on the surf both with their bodies and with the surf board.

Wrestling. Wrestling was a common pastime for both sexes, and many wrestling matches were arranged. At one end of a railed-in area sat the chief and leading men, who were to serve as judges. At the appointed time several men with no clothing except the malo entered the area, and each one offered to wrestle with anyone who so wished. After the challenges had been arranged the pairs contested in turn. The victors were applauded in chants, and the defeated and their friends accepted the outcome without bitter feelings. Boxing matches also were part of the Polynesian amusements.

Spear throwing, coasting, bowling. In spear throwing a group of contestants were expected to catch one of the spears thrown at them and with this spear ward off others thrown; when a favorable opportunity came, they hurled the spear back at their opponents. During the contest the air was full of spears, and to avoid disaster, spears must be thrown, caught, parried, and dodged with coolness and lightning-like speed. In Hawaii favorite sports were coasting down grassy slopes and bowling with *ulumaika* stones.

What children were taught. The white men who first came into the Pacific expressed surprise at the intelligence shown by the natives. They discovered that the Polynesians have good minds and that many of them had also been trained in schools or under the direction of selected teachers. The young man who was to be a chief or leader studied astronomy, law, geography, and particularly history and language. Besides his regular studies he must be trained as a warrior and a speaker and taught

to read the meaning of the habits of fish, the blossoming of trees, the flight of birds, and the movement and shape of clouds. In some Polynesian islands each young man learned some trade, such as house builder, wood carver, fisherman, sailor, or farmer; and in New Zealand there were separate schools in which each trade was taught.

The Polynesian knew the importance of giving all his attention to the task in hand and of doing one thing at a time. While making a canoe or a stone carving or learning to recite the history of his tribe, the man withdrew from his family and friends and even refrained from eating food for many days at a time.

Polynesians good workers. There are some accounts of the surprising skill and quickness with which trained workers performed their tasks. In 1812 the natives of the Marquesas built for Captain David Porter two dwelling houses, a sail loft, a cooper shop, a place for the sick, a bake house, and a guard house. The work was performed in one day. More than 4,000 natives united to assemble the materials and construct the buildings. Each man was master of the particular work he was doing, and there was keen competition among the groups to see which could build the most perfect house in the shortest time.

Difficult work. Some work done by the Polynesians seems impossible without the aid of horses or machinery. In the platforms of temples and houses and in walls are stones weighing several tons. The stone images of Easter Island are twenty to seventy feet high. Some tall stone monuments were quarried and carried to their places, and heavy stone caps were placed on them after the monuments were erected.

Strength and courage. Polynesian children were taught to be strong and fear nothing, and strength and courage shown in battles, in voyages, and in sports were qualities most admired in men. At times the display of strength resulted in cruelty.

Hospitality and courtesy. But courtesy and hospitality were ideals of the whole race, and on some islands laws were made

which compelled hospitality from the few who might otherwise not recognize it. " Look not with ungracious eye upon a traveler who passes your door. You must bid him enter. Your pig must be killed, your bowl must be greasy from the food that you offer him. Whosoever does not respect this order is to be taken to the public place and shamed ; his sin shall never be hidden ; with the chief shall lie the right to confiscate his lands in punishment."

What Polynesians believed. To a Polynesian religion was as much a part of his everyday life as were the stones with which he built his house platforms or the wood of his canoe, or as his eating and drinking. Religious thought and physical effort were parts of all activities. Birth, death, and work had a religious as well as a physical meaning. To accomplish an undertaking it was as necessary to perform appropriate religious rites as it was to have the right kinds of tools.

The things in nature were thought to have individual life. Land, sea, stones, stars, and other natural objects grew and changed and moved just as do trees and animals and men. The Maori *Rangi*, the heavens, was a thinking, living being, having its own peculiar form. In Tahiti *Taa-roa*, the creator, was thought to have human form.

The Polynesian recognized the regularity of nature — day follows night, stars move across the heavens, seeds grow into plants, waves respond to the wind — and explained it by the belief that the forces of nature, each an independent living thing, worked in harmony with each other.

Mana. Every human being, every god and spirit, every animal and plant, every stone, every star, every hill and valley, differed from every other in its class, because each had a different amount and a different kind of *mana*. The power and dignity of a sacred chief was his mana, part of which he inherited from his godlike ancestors. The mana of the priest was shown by his knowledge of things to come and of how the people should act. He obtained his mana by study and by rites which brought him

close to powerful spirits. The mana of the orator, the poet, and the teacher, the fisherman, the canoe builder, the house builder, and the farmer was shown by his skill. The unjust ruler, the dishonest priest, the unskillful workman were said to have lost their mana through some ignoble action or perhaps never to have had mana. Some weapons and tools had mana. A canoe without mana could not be swift, and fishhooks without mana were not of much use. For the Maori some streams, mountains, and lakes had mana which made them beautiful places and enabled them to protect, comfort, and bring good luck to those who stayed among them.

The Polynesians did not separate what we call natural from what we call supernatural. To them everything in the world — gods, men, animals, heavenly bodies, islands, wind, rain, rocks, mountains, valleys, and sea — are related because they all descended generation after generation from a "Sky Father" and an "Earth Mother."

Tapu. Polynesian religion recognized things and actions which were holy, sacred, and good, and things and actions which were unholy, common, or bad. To mark the difference and to see that these differences were accepted by the people, the system of *tapu* (otherwise *taboo* or *tabu* – in Hawaiian, *kapu*) was established. The chief was tapu because he represented the sacred god, and everything connected with worship was tapu. In some islands the chief was so sacred that to come within his shadow might mean death. Throughout Polynesia places of worship were tapu except for those who were specially set apart to act in the services. Religious services were tapu, and while some of them were being performed all work was forbidden. Fish caught was tapu until some had been offered to the gods who assisted in the successful catch. Some things were marked tapu merely for the personal benefit of the chief or priest. Evil spirits and unclean things were also tapu and must not be touched under pain of disaster and death. In general women were considered

inferior to men and were forbidden by tapu to enjoy certain foods and certain pleasures which men might freely enjoy.

The Chief. The central figure in Polynesian worship was the chief who combined the offices of leader and priest. The people thought of him as divinely born and therefore believed him to represent the gods from which he came and the people over whom he ruled. Through him the tribe might approach the gods, and through him the gods spoke to the tribe. Because of his close relations with the gods, this sacred chief was supposed to be able to prevent droughts, famine, failure of crops, and other disasters, and if these disasters came the chief was supposed to be careless or guilty. The chief therefore must be wise and strong and generous. He must take great care of himself, and his people must see that he lived safely and in comfort. From his birth he was treated as sacred. He had special food, special companions, and lived in a special place.

The position of the sacred chief was not the same in all the Polynesian islands. In some he owned all the land and all the people. His person was so sacred that no one could touch his body or his clothes or come within his house without fear of death, and when he went out the people who saw him must cease work, remove their clothing, and remain bowed down until he had passed. In other islands the chief had much less religious power, and in some islands the chief was merely the leader, religious rites being performed by priests.

Souls lived after death. The Polynesians believed that the souls of men continued to live after the death of the body and had power to aid or injure the families to which they belonged. Departed spirits were thought to be still members of the family or tribe to which they belonged on earth. At some places in Polynesia the spirit of almost every person was represented by a relic which was sacred. Especially the bones of human beings were considered sacred and protected by a tapu to prevent injury to them. They were concealed in caves, hidden away among

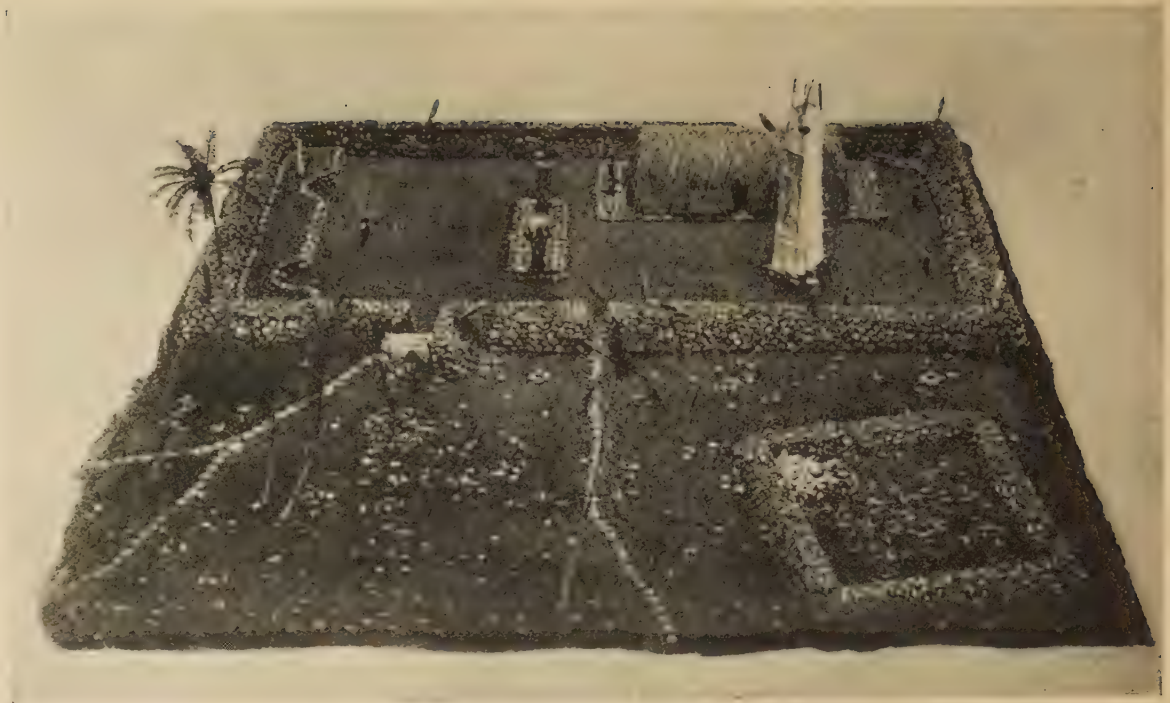
rocks or in the dense jungles, or placed within inclosures which no one could enter. The burial places of tens of thousands of bodies are no longer known. The head, which was supposed to be the most sacred part of the body, was especially preserved and guarded.

Places of worship. In all the Polynesian islands are places of worship, some of them protected by an inclosing wall. In them were houses for the priests and places for holding ceremonies. On the walls and within the inclosure were images, and somewhere near was a place for the bones of sacrifices. In Hawaii these places of worship are known as *heiaus*. In them services were held for many purposes, such as preparations for war, thanks to the gods for a good harvest, and to overcome the sickness of a ruler. There were different prayers, different chants, and different sacrifices for each occasion.

A higher god. The Polynesians believed in a god who was above all images and chiefs. Among the Maoris he was called *Io* and was considered so sacred that his name could be spoken only by priests and then only in the depths of the forest far away from men.

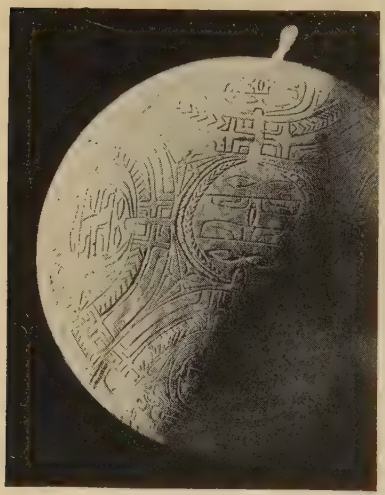
Differences among Polynesians. Although the inhabitants of the different Polynesian islands have descended from people who belonged to more than one race, their customs and beliefs are much alike. They even have some ancestors in common. From the same revered hero, Olopana, the Maoris and the Hawaiians record twenty-seven generations.

But just as in England, Japan, or the United States people in one part of the country speak differently, use different tools, and play different games, so in Polynesia the people in different islands differ from each other. *Aloha* in Hawaii, *aroha* in New Zealand, *kaoha* in the Marquesas, and *alofa* in Samoa are merely different spellings of the same word. In the Marquesas and in Hawaii the houses were rectangular; in Samoa and Tonga, they were oval. Only the Marquesans and the Maoris carved their house



Model of a heiau in Bishop Museum

posts. Canoes in the Marquesas, New Zealand, and Hawaii were dug out of logs; in Tahiti, Samoa, and Tonga they were built of planks. The shape of adzes, poi pounders, and stone images differs in different islands. Wooden bowls with legs, which are common in Tahiti, Samoa, and Tonga, are rare in Hawaii and are not found in the Marquesas. In war, spears, clubs, and slings were used in all Polynesia, but the bow and arrow was an important weapon only in Tonga. The shell trumpet, the nose flute, and some kind of drum were used nearly everywhere; but the wooden trumpet was played only in New Zealand and in the Marquesas, and the musical bow was an important instrument only in Hawaii and the Marquesas. All Polynesians engaged in boxing, wrestling, and dart throwing, and all except the Tongans used surf boards. But kite flying was mostly a game for Maori children, and bowling with ulumaika stones and coasting down hill were games for Hawaiians. All Polynesians except the Maoris made tapa, but the tools for making it and the figures stamped or painted on it were different. Feathers were used for dress or ornaments in all islands, but in different ways, and feather cloaks were made only in New Zealand and Hawaii. All Polynesians carved in wood, but little attention was paid to this art except in the Marquesas and New Zealand; the method of representing the human figure in carving, painting, and in petroglyphs was different. The Marquesans and the



Bishop Museum Photograph.

Carved bowl from the Marquesas Islands

Maoris were cannibals, and they hunted heads of enemies and preserved them as decorations; the Tahitians, Samoans, and Tongans hunted heads but did not keep them. The Hawaiians were not cannibals and did not hunt heads. Burial customs were different in each island group. In the Marquesas and New Zealand were regular schools for the training of young people. In other parts of Polynesia education was not organized.

Early history. Hawaii was a group of islands covered with vegetation and surrounded by coral reefs for thousands of years before any man came to its shores, and the islands may have been in existence before any men were on earth. It would be interesting to know the name of the man who first saw Mauna Loa, Haleakala, the Nuuanu Pali, or Waimea Canyon, and to know how he came to the islands and the reason for his coming. But the date of discovery, the name of the discoverer, and the place from which he came will never be known.

The first Hawaiians. According to some traditions, the first people to settle in Hawaii were a small group of Polynesians — probably the occupants of one canoe — who reached the islands about 500 A.D. It may be that these people and their descendants were the only inhabitants of Hawaii for more than six hundred years. Then more immigrants came, and during the years between 1100 A.D. and 1250 A.D. new settlers arrived from the Marquesas, from Tahiti, and from Samoa.

According to Hawaiian tradition the first of these new settlers was Paao, who arrived at Puna from Samoa or from Tahiti about the year 1125 with a company of thirty-eight, including his relatives and attendants. The fact that his expedition was equipped with well-constructed boats, a store of food, and was accompanied by a navigator, a sailing master, and an astronomer indicates a definite intention to find a place for settlement. But there is no evidence that Paao knew of the existence of Hawaii. It is probable that he found it by chance. There are no traditions

of immigrations to Hawaii during the period 1250 to 1778, the date of the rediscovery by Captain James Cook.

Thus for more than 500 years the inhabitants of Hawaii may have been isolated from the other peoples in the Pacific. During this time of about twenty generations the Hawaiians lived much like other members of their race, but because they were not in contact with their relatives living on distant islands they came to have customs and beliefs, kinds of governments, songs, and stories somewhat different from those in other parts of Polynesia.

Questions and Exercises

1. Compare a tool chest to-day with the Polynesian canoe maker's tool chest. What is the greatest difference?

2. All houses to-day have floors, roofs, and walls. What is the essential feature of the Polynesian house?

3. Give evidence from this chapter to show: *a.* That the Polynesians were skilled craftsmen; *b.* that the Polynesians were skilled gardeners; *c.* that the Polynesians loved beauty; *d.* that the Polynesians admired eloquence; *e.* that the Polynesians appreciated skilled leadership.

4. What sports with which you are familiar were favorites of the Polynesians?

5. Polynesians were taught to show: *a. Strength; b. Courage; c. Hospitality.* Which do you consider the best trait? Why?

6. Polynesian chiefs were *tapu* or sacred. Compare our attitude toward our leaders in government to-day with the Polynesian attitude toward their leaders. Name the good points of each attitude; the bad points of each. Which attitude do you prefer? Why?

7. The Hawaiians say that —— was the first new settler to come to Hawaii. He came about the year ——. After his coming, Hawaii was isolated from the rest of the world for about —— years. (Write Exercise 7 in your notebook, filling in the blanks)

8. Compare your own with the Polynesian religion as to: *a.* the sacredness or holiness of certain acts, places, and things; *b.* the position of women; *c.* the position of the chief or ruler; *d.* the soul and the disposal of the dead; *e.* places and ceremonies of worship; *f.* gods and a supreme god.

For Further Reading

Malo, David. — *Hawaiian Antiquities.*

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IV

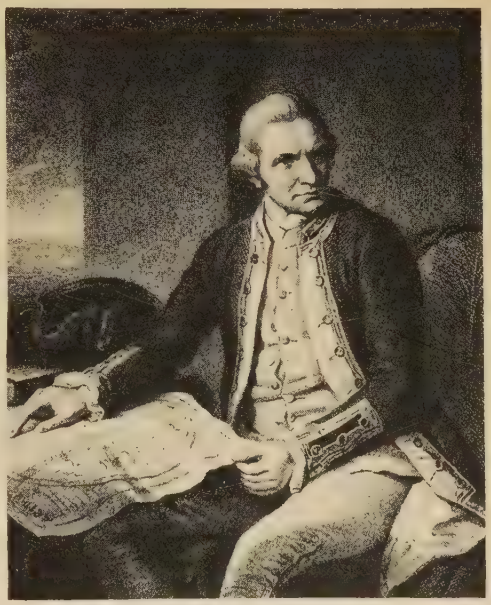
CAPTAIN COOK AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

Hawaiian islands unknown. Until after the middle of the eighteenth century the Hawaiian islands remained unknown to the civilized world of Europe, America, and Asia. There are some reasons for supposing that a few Spanish or Dutch sailors may have landed on Hawaii at some time in the sixteenth century or about the beginning of the seventeenth century, but if such a landing took place it did not result in bringing the islands to the knowledge of the outside world

Search for northwest passage. In fact very little was then known about the geography of the Pacific Ocean and the lands bordering it and of the islands which it contained. There were many strange ideas held by geographers and scientists. Among these ideas was a belief that there was a strait through the northern part of America, by which it would be possible to sail from Europe to Japan, China, and India, without making the long voyage around Africa or South America. It was considered very important to find this strait and so a great many expeditions were sent out to look for it. England took the greatest interest in this search because she would profit most from the discovery of a shorter route from northern Europe to Asia. Among the men who headed these expeditions were Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Baffin; their names are now to be found on the map of the northern coasts of America. These men tried to find the entrance to this strait on the Atlantic Ocean side. Finally it was decided to send an expedition into the Pacific Ocean

to look for the strait from that side. Captain James Cook was selected to head this expedition.

Captain James Cook. James Cook was born in 1728 of humble parents. At an early age he was apprenticed to a shipping firm on the east coast of England and entered upon the career of a sailor. Young Cook was industrious and eager to learn. Seeing this, his employer gave him opportunity to study and acquire experience in navigation. He soon rose to the rank of mate in the merchant service, and then, in 1755, volunteered as an ordinary seaman in the British navy. Almost immediately he was promoted to master's mate and during the next few years sailed in different ships, serving in America in the French and Indian War. From 1763 to 1767 he was engaged in surveying the coast of Newfoundland, and in the following year was placed in command of an expedition whose purpose was to go to Tahiti to observe the transit of the planet Venus across the face of the sun and to carry on explorations in the South Pacific. He thus began a series of explorations in the Pacific Ocean and the southern hemisphere, extending over a period of ten years and giving him a distinguished place in the history of maritime discoveries.



Captain James Cook

The Hawaiian Islands discovered. On his third voyage Cook's instructions were to go first to the Society Islands and to sail thence to the coast of America at about 45 degrees north latitude, from which point he was to skirt the coast northward in search of the supposed strait. In accordance with these instructions the ships under his command, the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, sailed north early in December, 1777, from Borabora in the Society Islands. At daybreak on the morning of January 18, 1778, an island was sighted on the northeast side of the ships and a little later another island came into view to the west of that first seen. These islands were Oahu and Kauai. The next day as the ships approached the coast of Kauai a number of canoes came out to meet them. Captain Cook wrote:

"They had from three to six men each; and, on their approach, we were agreeably surprised to find that they spoke the language of Otaheite and of the other islands we had lately visited. It required but very little address to get them to come alongside; but no entreaties could prevail upon any of them to come on board. I tied some brass medals to a rope and gave them to those in one of the canoes, who, in return, tied some small mackerel to the rope, as an equivalent. This was repeated; and some small nails, or bits of iron, which they valued more than any other article, were given them. For these they exchanged more fish and a sweet potato, a sure sign that they had some notion of bartering or, at least, of returning one present for another."

Going slowly around the island, the ships came to anchor in the bay of Waimea, where, during the next few days, the natives had an opportunity to observe more closely their strange visitors from across the sea. Captain Cook in his account of the voyage speaks about the great astonishment of the natives and their interest in iron. These two points are also clearly shown in the Hawaiian account of this event:

"It is at Waimea, on Kauai, that Lono first arrived. . . . He arrived in the night at Waimea, and when daylight came the natives ashore perceived this wonderful thing that had arrived, and they expressed their astonishment with great exclamations.

"One said to another, 'What is that great thing with branches?' Others said, 'It is a forest that has slid down into the sea,' and the gabble and noise was great. Then the chiefs ordered some natives to go in a canoe and observe and examine well that wonderful thing. They went, and when they came to the ship they saw the iron that was attached to the outside of the ship, and they were greatly rejoiced at the quantity of iron."

The English ships remained at Kauai and Niihau until February 2, engaged in filling up their water barrels and in trading with the natives, buying for trinkets and bits of iron large quantities of hogs, yams, and other food stuffs. To the entire group of islands Cook gave the name Sandwich Islands, in honor of his friend and patron the Earl of Sandwich. Finally he sailed away to the northwest coast of America without having seen the three large islands to the southeast.

Cook's second visit. Returning in November from the north with the idea of wintering in the islands, Cook first sighted Maui. The natives of that island manifested the same willingness to trade that had been shown by those of Kauai and Niihau. Indeed the Englishmen found evidence that reports of their previous visit had been spread throughout the entire group. Off the coast of Maui the ships were visited by Kalaniopuu, king of the island of Hawaii, and a group of his followers, among them being Kamehameha, who remained on board all night. Nearly two months were spent in sailing along the coasts of Maui and Hawaii, without landing at any point, though a more or less continuous traffic was carried on for provisions. In the middle of January, 1779, the two ships sailed around the south of Hawaii and on the seventeenth day of that month came to anchor in Kealakekua Bay, where they were at once surrounded by a

multitude of canoes. "Besides those who had come off to us in canoes, all the shore of the bay was covered with spectators, and many hundreds were swimming round the ships like shoals of fish."

Cook worshiped as a god. The ships were immediately visited by several chiefs, among them a priest, who paid their respects to Captain Cook in a formal manner. On going ashore he was treated with religious veneration by chiefs and common people alike, being taken to the *heiau* of Hikiau where he was made the center of an elaborate ceremony, by which the natives meant to acknowledge him as an *akua*. There can be no doubt that at first the Hawaiians looked upon Cook as the incarnation of their god Lono, though this fact does not seem to have been clearly understood by the Englishmen.

The next day astronomical instruments were landed from the ships and set up in a sweet potato patch which was tapued for them by the priests. Part of the crew went ashore to fill the water barrels and others were put to work repairing the ships. The Hawaiians looked at all of these operations with much interest, helping the crew at times, frequently visiting the ships, and every day sending on board large quantities of hogs and vegetables. On the twenty-fifth of January King Kalaniopuu arrived from Maui and greeted Captain Cook in a truly royal style, presenting him with a magnificent gift of a feather cloak and helmet. Among the entertainments provided for the strangers were boxing and wrestling matches; and in return the natives were allowed to witness a display of fireworks.

Unpleasant incidents. During this time the relations between the Englishmen and the Hawaiians were on the whole very friendly, this being especially true in the case of King Kalaniopuu and Captain Cook. Lieutenant King, who had charge of the sailors on shore, also became a great favorite with the natives. Nevertheless, a number of unpleasant incidents occurred, growing in part out of some rather high-handed actions of the strangers,

King Kalaniopuu bringing presents to Captain Cook

in part out of the natural tendency of some of the natives to take whatever suited their fancy, but more from the misunderstandings due to the imperfect knowledge each side had of the language, customs, and habits of the other. It is also likely that some of the Hawaiians came to doubt that Captain Cook was a god. But the efforts of the leaders on both sides prevented any serious trouble, and on February 4 the two ships took their departure, after Captain Cook and Lieutenant King had received from King Kalaniopuu gifts which astonished them on account of their value and magnitude.

Death of Captain Cook. A week later the ships returned to Kealakekua, a serious defect having been discovered in one of the masts which made it necessary to take it on shore for repair. At this time the ships were not received quite as cordially as before and serious quarrels very soon broke out. Finally on the night of February 13 a boat was taken from the *Discovery* by the natives, removed to another part of the bay, and broken to pieces for the nails which it contained. The next morning Captain Cook, considering this a serious matter, took determined measures for the recovery of the boat. He first put a blockade on the bay and then went ashore to the village of Kaawaloa for the purpose of persuading or compelling the king to go aboard the *Resolution*, meaning to keep him there until the boat was returned or satisfactory reparation made for it. This was a method which he had already used in the South Pacific and up to this time it had never failed to accomplish its purpose. At first it seemed that it would succeed in this case also, but Kalaniopuu's wife and several chiefs tried to keep the king on shore and this caused him to hesitate.

A quarrel quickly developed between the Englishmen and the natives, which soon led to blows. At about the same time a chief entering the further side of the bay without knowing about the blockade was killed by a shot from one of the boats. News of this came swiftly to the place where Cook was standing, sur-

rounded by natives. One of the chiefs "seized Captain Cook with a strong hand, designing merely to hold him, and not to take his life; for he supposed him to be a god, and that he could not die. Captain Cook struggled to free himself from the grasp, and as he was about to fall uttered a groan. The people immediately exclaimed, 'He groans - he is not a god,' and instantly slew him."

Besides Captain Cook four marines and about a score of natives were killed in this unfortunate affray. The bodies of the five Englishmen were immediately carried off by the natives and treated according to the Hawaiian custom. The bones of Captain Cook were divided among the high chiefs and priests.

In spite of the tragedy which had occurred, the policy of Captain Clerke, who succeeded to the command of the ships, was to bring about a reconciliation with the natives and to recover the bodies of Captain Cook and the marines who had been killed. In these efforts he was fairly successful, though the English sailors were eager for revenge, which made it hard to keep them under control. After the first burst of anger had cooled, the Hawaiians, with few exceptions, seem to have sincerely regretted their own part in the tragedy and did what they could to restore the former friendly relations. Most of the bones of Captain Cook were recovered and these were buried beneath the waters of the bay on Sunday, February 21, with an impressive funeral service, a tapu being placed on the bay for this occasion by the Hawaiians.

The following day final preparations for departure were made and that evening the ships sailed out of the bay. "The natives were collected on the shore in great numbers; and, as we passed along, received our last farewells with every mark of affection and good will." After brief stops at Oahu and Kauai the English ships continued their course toward the north in order to complete their explorations in that region.

Questions and Exercises

You remember from your American history that the European countries, especially England and Spain, were interested in exploring the Pacific. Magellan and Drake had early entered and sailed across that ocean. Both countries by the end of the 18th century had possessions there. England by that time had added India to her possessions. This was before the time of the steamship, and ocean travel meant long months spent on a sailing vessel. If there was any way in which England could save time in reaching her colonial possessions, she would have been glad to know it.

1. What is the connection between Captain Cook's voyages and the facts stated above?

2. If you had been sailing from the Philippines across the Pacific for ten months, why would you have been glad to see land on the horizon on coming on deck early one morning? Make a list of all the reasons you can in your notebook.

3. If you had been a Hawaiian and awoke one morning to find Captain Cook's ship at anchor in the bay, how would you have felt? If you had been a chief, what would you have done? Why? If you had been a poor commoner who had a small taro patch, what would you have thought? What would you have done? Why?

4. Show how each of the following made it impossible for the English and Hawaiians to understand each other's actions and led up to the events which caused Captain Cook's death:

a. Each group spoke a different language.

b. The Hawaiians desired, above all things, to possess iron.

c. The English looked on stealing as a crime which deserved capital punishment.

d. The Hawaiians had never seen so large a ship or men who looked like the English.

e. The English sailors were rough and ignorant men.

f. The Hawaiians did not feel that it was wrong to take from some one else a thing that they wanted.

g. The English did not realize that the Hawaiians thought Cook was a god.

5. In the time of Cook, a northwest passage would have given to the country which controlled it great power. Why? To-day the large countries of the world are hunting for land in which there is oil. Can

you explain why? Can you imagine what troubles would arise if oil was found in a rather small unprotected country?

For Further Reading

Besant, W. — *Life of Captain Cook.*
Fornander, A. — *The Polynesian Race*, Vol. II, pages 158–200. (Cook's visit to Hawaii, based largely on the Hawaiian accounts.)
Kippis, A. — *Life and Voyages of Captain James Cook.*
Kitson, A. — *Captain James Cook the Circumnavigator.*

V

THE RISE OF KAMEHAMEHA

A transition period. At the time of Captain Cook's visits the Hawaiian islands were divided into four kingdoms, each with its own *moi* or sovereign. Of these sovereigns the most important were Kalaniopuu of Hawaii and Kahekili of Maui. The history of the next quarter century consists largely of the story of the wars and negotiations by which the entire group, with the exception of Kauai, was united into one kingdom under the control of Kamehameha of Hawaii, the nephew of Kalaniopuu. This period was marked also by the coming of foreigners to the islands and the beginning of relations with citizens of various countries of Europe and America.

Importance of Kamehameha. The life of Kamehameha spans the transition from old to new Hawaii, its beginning resting in the ancient epoch and its close firmly established in the modern age. From his career one looks dimly back into the early history of the Hawaiian race and forward into the clear light of Hawaii's modern history. Kamehameha, partly by reason of this strategic position but more because of his own strength and wisdom, is the great hero of the Hawaiian people. He created the Hawaiian Kingdom of modern times, and the strong impression which his personality made upon the minds of the people of Europe and America was an important influence toward keeping that kingdom independent.

Birth and early life. On a wild night in the stormy winter season — such a night as was fit to be the birth-time of a king — Kamehameha was born in Kohala, Hawaii. The year is not

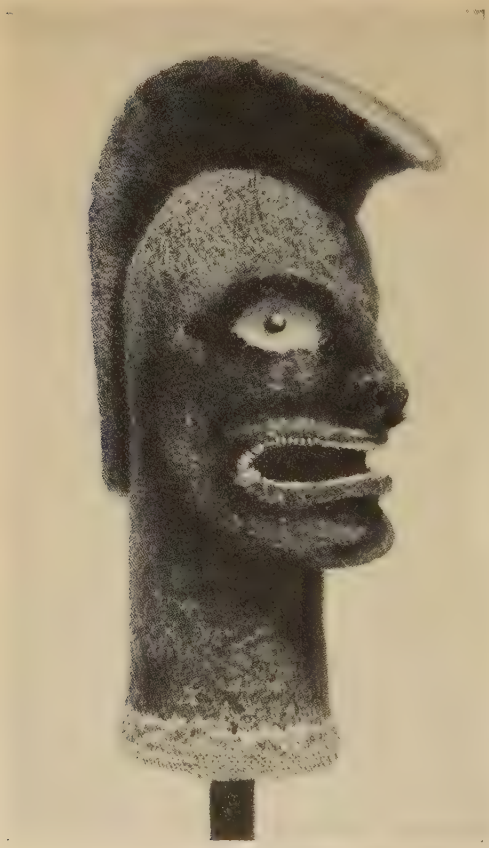
known certainly, but it was about 1737. His father was of royal lineage and his mother of high chiefly rank. At birth he was taken away from his mother and kept for five years in seclusion. He was then returned to the court of the king, Alapainui, where he was brought up in a manner suited to his rank. Not much is known of his youth, but it is certain that his training was such as to develop warlike and princely accomplishments. He was instructed in the arts of war by Kekuhaupio, one of the most famous warriors of that time. The king, Alapainui, was frequently at war and it is quite probable that the young prince had his first taste of battle at a very early age.

First glimpses of Kamehameha. Kamehameha continued to live at the court of the king during the lifetime of Alapainui, and after that he is found in the following of his uncle, Kalaniopuu, who succeeded to the sovereignty of the island of Hawaii about 1755. Ten years later Kahekili became moi of the neighboring island of Maui. Kalaniopuu and Kahekili were both ambitious and warlike, and it is in one of the wars between them that we get the first clear glimpse of Kamehameha as a warrior. The legends relate that in a battle on Maui about the year 1775 Kamehameha by his strength and skill and courage saved his old teacher from almost certain death.

A few years later came the visits of Captain Cook, at which time Kamehameha spent many hours on the English ships. He was then forty years of age, and Captain King, who saw him on several occasions, speaks of him as possessing " the most savage face " he had ever beheld.

Guardian of the war god. A year or two after the death of Captain Cook, King Kalaniopuu, having grown old and feeble, called a council at Waipio, at which, in the presence of his chiefs, he proclaimed his son Kiwalao his successor in the government of the kingdom, and at the same time gave to Kamehameha the guardianship of the war god, Kukailimoku. Shortly after this an incident occurred which seemed to foreshadow a civil

war between these two princes. A rebellious chief of Puna had been captured and was about to be sacrificed at the heiau. It was supposed that Kiwalao, as the representative of the king, would perform the ceremony, but while he was making the preliminary offering of the pigs and fruit, Kamehameha seized the captive chief and offered him up at the same time. Various reasons are given as a justification for this action, but at the moment it created so great a sensation that Kalaniopuu advised Kamehameha to leave the court for a time, but to retain the care of the war god. Kamehameha therefore took his wife, his brother, and the god Kukailimoku and retired to his own lands in Kohala, where he remained quietly until after the death of Kalaniopuu.



Bishop Museum Photograph.

Kukailimoku

Battle of Mokuohai. In the early part of 1782 Kalaniopuu died and in due course of time his body was taken for burial to the Hale-o-Keawe in South Kona. To this place came the

chiefs from all parts of the island to do honor to the dead king and to be present at the customary distribution of land by the new moi, Kiwalao. The latter, whose home was in Kau, seems to have been under the influence of his energetic uncle, Keawemauhili, the principal chief of the Hilo district. Because of this the chiefs of Kona feared that they would be unfairly treated in the distribution of land and five of them decided to act together to protect their interests and persuaded Kamehameha to become their leader. These five chiefs were Kekuhaupio (Kamehameha's teacher in the art of war), Keeaumoku, Kameeiamoku, Kamanawa, and Keaweaheulu. From this time on these chiefs were the staunch supporters of Kamehameha in all his wars.

Matters turned out as they had feared, but the Kona chiefs remained quiet until Keoua, the brother of Kiwalao, made a wanton attack on some of Kamehameha's people. This soon led to a battle between the forces of Kiwalao and those of Kamehameha, in which Kamehameha was victorious. Kiwalao was slain and his uncle Keawemauhili was taken prisoner but almost immediately escaped and returned to Hilo.

This battle of Mokuohai, as it is called, marks an important step in the rise of Kamehameha. As a result of it the island of Hawaii was divided into three parts: the districts of Kona, Kohala, and Hamakua being under the control of Kamehameha; Kau under the control of Keoua, the brother of Kiwalao; and Hilo and Puna under the control of Keawemauhili.

Struggle for supremacy. During the greater part of the next ten years Kamehameha was engaged in a hard struggle to keep what he had already won and to gain control of the rest of the island of Hawaii and of the other islands of the group. His principal opponents were Keoua and Keawemauhili on the south and east and Kahekili, the king of Maui, on the northwest. These were able leaders and they were victorious almost as often as Kamehameha.

Mamalahoe Kanawai. At the beginning of this period Kamehameha made an attack on the Hilo district, in which he was severely beaten by Keawemauhili. On his return northward Kamehameha stopped at Laupahoehoe to rest and while there started out one day in his war canoe to make a raid on the Puna coast. As the canoe sped southward Kamehameha saw some fishermen on the beach and leaped ashore alone to attack them. The fishermen fled and as Kamehameha pursued them his foot slipped into a crevice of the lava and he was held fast. Seeing this, one of the fishermen returned and struck him on the head with his paddle so that the paddle was broken to pieces. The fishermen then made their escape and Kamehameha pulled his foot loose and returned to the canoe.

Later when the fishermen were caught and brought before him, Kamehameha not only spared their lives but gave them each some land, saying that he himself had been at fault in attacking the innocent. And in after years he gave the name *Mamalahoe Kanawai* (the Law of the Splintered Paddle) to one of his decrees: "Let the aged, men and women, and little children lie down in safety in the road."

Aid from foreigners. It was during this period that the islands began to be visited by foreign trading ships. From these ships the various chiefs bought guns and ammunition and other things that would be of help to them in their wars. They also obtained the services of several foreigners who left the ships to live on the islands. On account of the favorable situation of his territory Kamehameha was able to secure a greater amount of assistance in this way than most of the other chiefs, which gave him a great advantage over them.

Destruction of part of Keoua's army. After some years Kamehameha and Keawemauhili became reconciled and the latter sent a number of soldiers to aid Kamehameha in a campaign against Maui and Oahu. This fact so angered Keoua that he made an attack upon the Hilo district, and Keawemauhili was

defeated and killed. Keoua then invaded Kamehameha's territory and ravaged the districts of Waipio and Waimea. Kamehameha immediately returned to Hawaii and drove the invader out of his part of the island. Keoua made his way back

Photograph by K. Maehara, Hilo, Hawaii.

Explosive eruption of Kilauea in 1924

It was an eruption like this that destroyed part of Keoua's army in 1790. There have been only two such eruptions of Kilauea in historic times, in 1790 and 1924. The picture shows the smoke, fumes, and ashes being carried off to the southward by the wind, just as they were in 1790.

to his home in Kau. But while his army was passing Kilauea an eruption occurred and about one third of the soldiers, together with their wives and children, were killed by the ashes and fumes from the volcano (1790). Many people looked upon this occurrence as proof that the goddess Pele was on the side of Kamehameha.

Building of the Puukohola Heiau. But the struggle still went on and Keoua seemed to be as strong as ever. He had added to his former possessions those of Keawemauhili and as a result the island of Hawaii was almost equally divided between him and Kamehameha. About this time Kamehameha sent a messenger to find out from a famous *kahuna*, or soothsayer, of Kauai what he ought to do to win the supremacy of Hawaii. The reply was that he must build a large heiau for his god at Puukohola, Kawaihae. To this work Kamehameha now turned his attention. "Chiefs of the highest degree and common natives worked side by side, and Kamehameha himself set the example of carrying stones to the building. There was but one exception known, and that was Kamehameha's younger and favorite brother Keliimaikai." He was not allowed to work on the heiau because it was necessary that there should be at least one tapu chief uncontaminated by menial labor in order that the religious rites might be properly carried on.

Death of Keoua. When the heiau at Puukohola had been completed, two of Kamehameha's principal supporters, Keaweaheulu and Kamanawa, betook themselves to the home of Keoua in Kau. They were received in a manner befitting their rank, though some of Keoua's followers advised that they be killed. To Keoua they said that they had come to induce him to go to Kona to be united and reconciled with Kamehameha. "Let the war between you two come to an end." Keoua's answer was, "I am agreed; let us go to Kona."

The great double canoes were made ready and the journey to Kawaihae was begun. Several stops were made along the way. At the last of these Keoua bathed and prepared himself for whatever was to come. It seems that he must have had a premonition of the fate awaiting him.

As they approached the shore at Kawaihae, Keeaumoku came to meet them with a number of armed men. Keoua saw Kamehameha some distance away and called out to him, "Here I am."

Kamehameha replied, " Rise and come here, that we may know each other." As Keoua was about to step ashore Keeaumoku struck him with a spear. The wounded man struggled for a moment and then died. All of his immediate companions were likewise killed and then Kamehameha put an end to the slaughter. The slain men were offered as a sacrifice on the altar of the new heiau.

The death of Keoua occurred in the summer of 1791. His possessions immediately fell into the control of Kamehameha, who thus became the undisputed moi of the whole island of Hawaii. Another long step had been taken toward the control of the whole group.

Questions and Exercises

Copy the following in your notebook, filling in the blanks:

When Kamehameha was born, the Hawaiian islands were divided into —— kingdoms. Two of the great chiefs were —— of Hawaii and —— of Maui. When Kamehameha died, the Hawaiian islands were —— into —— ——. When Kamehameha was born, the white man —— —— —— to the islands. When he died, many foreigners —— ——. Kamehameha's life is a bridge between the —— and the ——. Kamehameha was —— years old when Captain Cook came. Kamehameha became chief of all Hawaii through ——.

What does Mamalahoe Kanawai mean? What does this law say? Why was the law given this name? If the story of the naming of this law is true, what does it tell you about Kamehameha's character?

VI

FUR TRADERS AND EXPLORERS

The northwest fur trade. One of the most important results of the last voyage of Captain Cook was the accidental discovery that a great deal of money could be made out of the fur trade between China and the northwest coast of America. As soon as this fact became generally known, traders of all the leading maritime nations flocked into the Pacific Ocean to engage in this trade. These nations became greatly interested in the western coast of America. Russia took possession of Alaska, and English and Spanish expeditions were sent out to explore the coast and to make settlements at strategic points. War nearly resulted from this rivalry. American and French trading vessels as well as those of England and Russia visited all parts of the coast from Alaska to California, buying furs which were sold in China at an enormous profit. A large number of these trading and exploring ships visited Hawaii on their way across the Pacific.

Trading ships at the Hawaiian islands. It was therefore the trade in furs that first made the Hawaiian islands well known and gave them a place of importance in the commercial world. The islands were so situated that they were a convenient stopping place for ships going to and from the coast of America, and their products and mild climate made them an ideal place in which to rest and to get needed supplies. Frequently ships came here to spend the winter. An Englishman, who visited the islands in 1792, wrote as follows: "What a happy discovery these Islands were! What would the American fur trade be, without these to winter at and get every refreshment? A vessel going on

that trade will need only sufficient provisions to carry her to these Islands, where there is plenty of pork and salt to cure it, and yams as a substitute for bread."

Besides hogs and yams the traders bought many other articles, such as sugar cane, coconuts, taro, plantains, melons, salt, wood and water, calabashes, mats, feather capes and helmets, and other natural and manufactured products. In exchange for these things the traders supplied the islanders with nails, knives, and other objects made of iron, which the natives were very anxious to get because no metals were obtainable in the islands. Utensils of various kinds, cloth, and ship stores were also in demand.

As time went by the Hawaiians came to know the value of different articles and refused to sell their provisions for such trifles as they were at first glad to receive. A trader who visited the islands in 1798 gives the following statement of a bargain he made with Kamehameha: "We agreed [to purchase], and paid for at the same time, forty-five large hogs, and as much sugar cane and vegetables as would fill our quarter deck square with the binnacle and as high as the quarter rails. We paid a barrel of flour for twelve hogs, a barrel of pitch for ten hogs, and a large pitch kettle for eleven hogs; the balance we paid in canvas, rice, and blocks and some rigging." The captain of a Russian ship which visited Hawaii in June, 1804, wrote that "everything at present is dear, on account of the many American ships, which, in navigating these seas, always touch at the Sandwich Islands for refreshments." This captain stated also that in the course of the preceding twelve months the bay of Kealakekua had been visited by no less than eighteen different vessels.

When the Hawaiian chiefs noticed the effectiveness of the traders' firearms, they were very eager to obtain a supply of these weapons, and many of the traders sold them muskets, cannons, and ammunition, thus encouraging the chiefs to continue their destructive interinsular wars.

From time to time various white men, officers and sailors, left the ships and took up their residence on the islands. Most of these men entered the service of the different chiefs, advising them in their relations with foreigners and helping them in their local affairs. Many of these white men were not of good character and had a bad influence over the natives, but some of them proved to be true friends of the Hawaiians.

Meares and Kaiana. Among the first of the fur traders to visit the Hawaiian islands was an Englishman named John Meares, who arrived in the fall of 1787 and remained for a month. Upon his departure for China, Captain Meares took with him the chief, Kaiana, who expressed a desire to see the outside world. Kaiana was a large, powerful, and fine looking man and at Canton received much attention and was given many things which it was thought would be useful to him in his own country. After about three months Meares set out once more for the coast of America, taking with him Kaiana and three other Hawaiians who had been carried to China in trading vessels. On this voyage Kaiana visited the American coast from Alaska to Vancouver Island and finally returned to his native country in December, 1788. He then joined Kamehameha and was a prominent chief for several years.

Besides Kaiana many other Hawaiians were taken on trading ships to China, to the American coast, and even to England and the United States. It was soon found that Hawaiians made good sailors and many of them were hired by the various ship masters.

First American ships. In the winter of 1789–90 the first American ships visited the islands. There were four of these ships. The earliest was the *Columbia*, commanded by Captain Robert Gray, the first American ship to circumnavigate the globe. Another was the *Lady Washington*, commanded by Captain John Kendrick. This ship visited the islands several times and Kendrick became well acquainted with the Hawaiian

chiefs, to whom he sold guns and ammunition. The other two American ships were the *Eleanora* and the *Fair American*.

The *Eleanora* and the *Fair American*. These vessels were commanded by Captain Simon Metcalfe and his son, a youth of about eighteen years. They had been trading for furs on the American coast and at the end of the season the *Eleanora* sailed to the

The *Columbia* and the *Lady Washington* anchored in the river near Canton, China

Hawaiian islands to spend the winter. After remaining for some time at the island of Hawaii, Captain Metcalfe went over to Maui about the first of February, 1790. While he was there some of the natives one night took a small boat from the ship and killed a sailor who was sleeping in it. An attempt was also made to sink the vessel by stripping off her copper bottom. As a punishment Captain Metcalfe fired on the natives who were on shore and burned their village. A few days later a chief came on board the *Eleanora* and offered, for a reward, to return both the sailor and the boat. During the next few days this chief

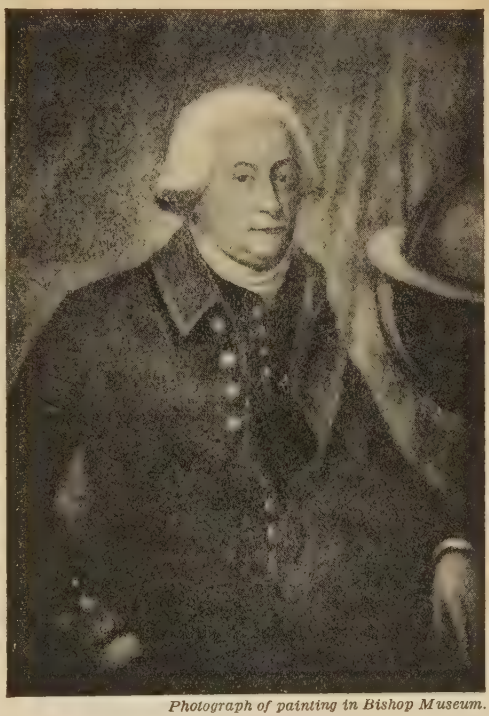
brought the bones of the sailor and the keel of the boat, claimed his reward, and asked that the natives might continue to trade as usual. This was granted, but one day, when a large number of them had come out in their canoes to trade, Captain Metcalfe fired on them with all his guns, loaded with round and grape shot and nails. A horrible slaughter resulted, more than a hundred natives being killed and many others wounded. The *Eleanora* then sailed to Kealakekua. This affair is known as the Olowalu massacre.

Some days later the *Fair American*, commanded by a son of Captain Simon Metcalfe, arrived off the coast of Hawaii. This ship was very small and had only six men on board. One of the chiefs, who had once been whipped by the older Metcalfe for some petty offense, formed a plot to capture the *Fair American*. The plan was very easily carried out, and all the men on board were killed except one. The man who escaped alive, though badly hurt, was Isaac Davis. There were some other white men on the island at that time, and the boatswain of the *Eleanora*, John Young, went on shore to visit them. Kamehameha was afraid that if Captain Metcalfe learned of the death of his son and the capture of the *Fair American* he would take some terrible revenge. He therefore kept John Young on shore, and Metcalfe had to sail away without him and without learning what had happened to the *Fair American*.

Kamehameha had no part in the capture of this ship and he immediately took Young and Davis under his protection. They tried several times to escape, but were prevented from doing so and soon became reconciled to their situation. They were kindly treated by the king, to whom they always proved themselves true friends and wise and faithful advisers. They were finally made chiefs and held important and responsible positions in the government.

Captain George Vancouver. It was during this period that Captain Vancouver made his three visits to the Hawaiian islands.

As a result of the fur trade a dispute had arisen between Spain and England over their rights on the west coast of America. There was danger of war, but this was finally averted and a treaty was made to settle the difficulty. Captain George Vancouver, who had been with Captain Cook on his last voyage, was then sent by the British government to carry out the terms of the treaty with Spain, to make a careful exploration of the coast from Alaska to California, and to continue the search begun by Captain Cook for a navigable passage between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. He was also given instructions to winter at the Hawaiian islands and to complete the survey of those islands. Two ships, the *Discovery* and the *Chatham*, were placed under his command, and a third ship, the *Daedalus*, was later sent out to him with supplies.



Photograph of painting in Bishop Museum.

Captain George Vancouver

Vancouver arrived off the coast of Hawaii on the first day of March, 1792. A native of the islands, who had been brought from England on the *Discovery*, was landed under the protection of Kaiana, and another native, who had previously been on one of the fur trading vessels, was taken on board as interpreter.

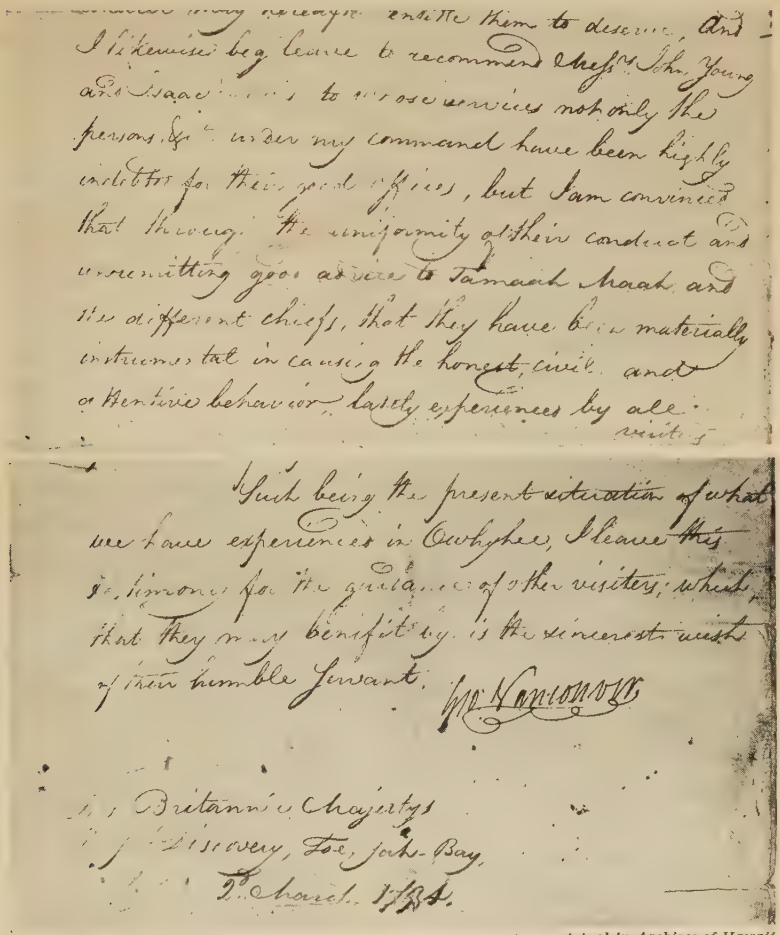
After spending a few days on the coast of Hawaii, Vancouver proceeded to the other islands without having seen Kamehameha. A short stop was made at Waikiki, Oahu, and a longer one at Waimea, Kauai, where Vancouver was visited by the young prince Kaumualii, a lad of about twelve years. At all of these places Vancouver treated the natives in as friendly a manner as possible and gave to the chiefs various kinds of useful seeds and plants, but he refused to give them firearms or ammunition.

About six weeks after the departure of Vancouver, the store ship *Daedalus* arrived, in command of Lieutenant Hergest, and anchored off Waimea, Oahu, for the purpose of obtaining a supply of water. While engaged in this operation a party on shore was attacked by the natives and Lieutenant Hergest and two other men were killed. The *Daedalus* then proceeded to the American coast to join the *Discovery* and the *Chatham*.

A year later Vancouver returned for a second visit, the two ships of his squadron sighting Hawaii on February 12, 1793. In order to complete the examination of the coast, the *Chatham* sailed around the south side of the island, while Vancouver, in the *Discovery*, sailed around the north. After a short stop at Kawaihae the *Discovery* proceeded to Kealakekua. Before its arrival there, Kamehameha came on board, and Vancouver, who had seen him before at the time of Captain Cook's visit, says that he "was agreeably surprized in finding that his riper years had softened that stern ferocity which his younger days had exhibited, and had changed his general deportment to an address characteristic of an open, cheerful, and sensible mind, combined with great generosity and goodness of disposition." With him were John Young and various members of the king's family. The English captain expressed himself as being highly pleased with the conduct of the whole party.

On this visit to the islands Vancouver had three objects that he was particularly anxious to accomplish. One was to introduce cattle, for which purpose he had brought from California a

number of those useful animals. These were presented to Kamehameha. A second object was to bring about a permanent peace between the different islands of the group. This was very hard to accomplish. Vancouver induced the different chiefs to agree to what seemed reasonable terms, but their mutual distrust of each



from original in Archives of Hawaii.

Part of a letter written by Captain Vancouver while at the Hawaiian islands

other made it impossible for them finally to get together. Vancouver's third object was to secure the punishment of those who had been responsible for the killing of Lieutenant Hergest. For this purpose he visited Maui and Oahu. The king, Kahekili, and his advisers seemed to be willing to do what Vancouver demanded; after an investigation at Waikiki three natives were executed for the murder, but it is very doubtful whether they were the guilty ones.

Vancouver spent about three weeks at Hawaii and made shorter stops at Maui, Oahu, and Kauai. To Kauai he returned two girls who had been taken from there to the American coast on a trading vessel. At all these places he was careful to avoid any possibility of trouble with the natives and they in turn showed a most friendly and honorable disposition. From his actions it is clear that Vancouver looked on Kamehameha as the most powerful chief and as a man on whom the greatest reliance could be placed. He also gives high praise to John Young and Isaac Davis.

Vancouver's third and last visit to the islands (January–March, 1794) was marked by a number of interesting circumstances. The English ships remained for several weeks at Kealakekua. Vancouver improved the time by giving Kamehameha much good advice. He was able to bring about a reconciliation between the king and his favorite wife, Kaahumanu, between whom an estrangement had occurred. An additional supply of cattle was brought from California and Kamehameha was induced to place a tapu on them for a period of ten years. The carpenters of the *Discovery* and the *Chatham* constructed the framework of the *Britannia*, the first vessel ever built in Hawaii. This was a project on which the king had set his heart, and he spent most of his time watching the operations connected with it. At this time there were about a dozen white men residing on the island and they all came to take part in the work. Among them was a carpenter named Boyd, in the service of Kamehameha,

who undertook to complete the vessel after the framework had been set up. Shortly before the departure of Vancouver, Kamehameha and his chiefly advisers ceded the island of Hawaii to Great Britain, or placed it under the protection of that nation, as a defense against the attacks of enemies, near or distant, with the understanding, however, that the native religion, government, and social system should not be interfered with. This cession was never accepted by Great Britain and no result of any importance ever came from it.

The visits of Vancouver made a deep impression on the Hawaiian people. They remembered particularly his refusal to sell guns and ammunition and his effort to bring the chiefs of the different islands to live at peace with one another. This effort failed, but the attention which he paid to Kamehameha undoubtedly increased the prestige of that king and made it easier for him to conquer the other islands and in that way pacify the entire group. The Hawaiian tradition says that Vancouver promised to send teachers from England to explain the Christian religion to the Hawaiians.

Questions and Exercises

When traders came to the Hawaiian islands, there were both good and bad results. Make a list of each in your notebook. Which do you think were the greater, the good results or the bad? Give evidence from the chapter to support your decision.

Compare the visits of Vancouver and their results to Hawaii with the visits of other traders mentioned in the chapter. With which captain would you have preferred to sail — Metcalfe, or Vancouver? Why?

VII

KAMEHAMEHA COMPLETES THE CONQUEST

King Kahekili of Maui. Kamehameha, having conquered his own island, was more eager than ever to gain control of the remainder of the group. But a great obstacle stood in his way. This was Kahekili, the king of Maui. By the time Kamehameha had become sole king of the island of Hawaii, Kahekili had succeeded in making himself overlord of Maui, Molokai, Oahu, and Kauai. This powerful chieftain was an older man than Kamehameha and for a long time had been the ruler of Maui. He had fought many battles with Kalaniopuu, who invaded Maui on several occasions. In some of these battles the Hawaiian king was badly defeated, and finally Kahekili was able to win back the district of Hana, East Maui, which for a long time had been held by the moi of Hawaii.

For several years after the death of Kalaniopuu, while Kamehameha was engaged in his contest with Keoua and Keawemauhili, Kahekili was able to turn his attention to Oahu and Molokai, and in a short time he succeeded in conquering those islands, where he treated the conquered people with the most barbarous cruelty. His younger brother, Kaeokulani, had married the moi of Kauai, and by this means Kahekili's influence was extended over that island as well In his wars he was aided by his brother, Kaeokulani, the real ruler of Kauai, and by his son Kalanikupule, who was made regent of Maui while Kahekili remained on Oahu. This was the situation about 1785.

Kamehameha makes war on Kahekili. Toward the end of that year Kamehameha sent an army under command of his

younger brother to attempt the reconquest of Hana, East Maui. This attempt met with some success at first, but the invaders were soon driven out by a force sent against them by Kalanikupule.

After this, for several years, peace prevailed on all the islands, and during this time the chiefs were engaged in strengthening their own positions, repairing the damage done in the recent campaigns, and carrying on trade with the many foreign ships which visited the islands for rest and refreshment.

In 1790 Kamehameha prepared another army, invaded Maui, and defeated Kalanikupule in the great battle of Iao Valley. The Maui army was almost completely destroyed, but Kalanikupule and several other chiefs escaped to Oahu, where they joined Kahekili. Kamehameha decided to carry the war into Oahu and was making plans to do so when news came to him that his possessions on Hawaii had been invaded and ravaged by Keoua. He therefore gave up the idea of further conquest at that time and returned to Hawaii to settle his account with Keoua.

Kahekili attacks Kamehameha. When Kahekili saw that Kamehameha was involved in difficulty at home, he and his brother Kaeokulani (or Kaeo, as he is more frequently called) gathered their warriors together, returned to Maui, and from there launched an attack on Hawaii. Kaeo carried destruction and ruin into the valley of Waipio, while Kahekili invaded Halawa in Kohala.

In order to repel this attack Kamehameha collected a large fleet of war canoes, with which he met and defeated the fleet of Kahekili off the north coast of Hawaii. In this battle each side used cannon which had been obtained from the fur traders, and Kamehameha's victory was due to his superiority in this respect, John Young and Isaac Davis being in charge of his artillery. It is probable also that the small schooner, the *Fair American*, formed part of his fleet on this occasion. This battle occurred in the spring of 1791, only a few months before the death of Keoua, which made Kamehameha sole king of the island of Hawaii.

Death of Kahekili. Again for a few years peace prevailed throughout the group, while the chiefs engaged in trade with the foreign ships and prepared their resources to be used in the final struggle for supremacy. It was during this time that Vancouver made his three visits to the Hawaiian islands and tried in vain to bring about a permanent peace between the opposing forces. During these years Kahekili, though he was old and feeble, visited all of the islands over which he ruled, leaving Kaeo as regent on Maui and Kalanikupule on Oahu. Finally the aged king died in the summer of 1794 at Waikiki, and his possessions were divided between his brother and his son, Kalanikupule continuing to rule over Oahu and Molokai, while Kaeo retained control of Maui and Kauai.

War between Kaeo and Kalanikupule. In the latter part of 1794 Kaeo decided to return to Kauai, where there had been some disorder due to his long absence. He accordingly set out with a considerable force, stopping first at Molokai and then at Waimanalo, Oahu, to rest. For some unknown reason Kalanikupule sent a body of soldiers to prevent his landing and some fighting occurred. This difficulty was soon settled, however, by a personal conference between the two leaders and shortly afterwards Kaeo proceeded on around the island to Waianae from which point he expected to embark for Kauai. While waiting here he discovered that some of his own soldiers were conspiring against him. In order to avoid this danger Kaeo proposed to his chiefs to make an attack on Kalanikupule and conquer the island of Oahu. This had the desired effect; the conspiracy was checked, his warriors all rallied about him, and the advance toward Waikiki was at once begun.

Kalanikupule marshaled his army and prepared to meet the attack. Just at this time two English fur trading vessels, the *Jackal* and the *Prince Lee Boo*, under command of Captain William Brown, came into the harbor of Honolulu. Brown had visited the islands several times before and was well known to all

the native chiefs, to whom he had sold guns and ammunition. Kalanikupule now appealed to him for assistance, and a bargain was made by which Captain Brown was to receive four hundred hogs in return for the aid which he and his men should furnish to the Oahu king. A few days later an American ship, the *Lady Washington*, commanded by Captain John Kendrick, who was likewise well known at the islands, came into the harbor, and it is possible that he also gave some assistance to Kalanikupule.

The invaders continued to advance and two battles were fought. In the first battle Kaeo won the day, but in the second the Oahu warriors, with the help of the foreigners, gained a decisive victory and Kaeo and several of his chiefs were killed. This battle was fought December 12, 1794, in the Ewa district.

The next day the foreign ships fired a salute in honor of the victory. Through some oversight one of the saluting guns on the *Jackal* was left loaded with shot and this shot passed through the *Lady Washington*, killing Captain Kendrick and some members of his crew. The body of Kendrick was taken on shore for burial and a few days later the *Lady Washington* sailed for China.

Capture and loss of the English ships. After the battle a disagreement seems to have arisen between Captain Brown and Kalanikupule over the question of payment for the service given to the king by Brown and his men. The trouble was apparently settled satisfactorily, but some of Kalanikupule's chiefs advised him to seize the two ships. After some hesitation Kalanikupule agreed to this, and on the first day of January, 1795, the plan was carried out. A large number of hogs were brought down to the beach and while part of the English sailors were busy killing and salting the hogs and part of them were at a distance getting salt, the natives captured the ships, killed the two captains, and made prisoners of all the sailors.

Being in possession of these two ships, with a large quantity of guns and ammunition, Kalanikupule thought he would now

be able to overcome Kamehameha. The English sailors were compelled, under guard, to get the ships ready for sea, Kalanikupule and his queen went on board, and the vessels were taken out of the harbor and anchored for the night at Waikiki. During the night the English sailors rose in revolt, killed their guards, put the king and queen on shore, and sailed for the island of Hawaii, where they told about these occurrences on Oahu.

Kamehameha conquers Oahu. When Kamehameha heard about these events, he saw that the time had come for him to complete his work of conquest. He therefore summoned his chiefs and warriors and collected the largest army that had yet been seen on the islands. This army was well equipped and thoroughly trained and organized. To transport it Kamehameha had already built an immense fleet of war canoes.

In February, 1795, the expedition sailed from Hawaii, touching first at Maui. That island was taken possession of, after which the fleet crossed over and took possession of Molokai and from there sailed to Oahu, landing at Waikiki. During the passage from Molokai to Oahu, Kaiana, who was one of Kamehameha's principal chiefs but whose loyalty had for some time been doubtful, deserted with his followers and joined Kalanikupule. The army of Oahu was posted in Nuuanu Valley and there the last great battle was fought. Kamehameha won a complete victory. Of the defeated army hundreds were killed and a large number were driven over the *pali* (precipice) and perished on the rocks below. A few escaped up the sides of the mountains. Kalanikupule wandered for some months in the mountains, but was finally captured, killed, and sacrificed to the war god Kukailimoku.

Attempted invasion of Kauai. Having made sure of his control of Oahu, Kamehameha turned his attention to the conquest of Kauai and Niihau. Captain Broughton, an English naval officer, who was at Waikiki in February, 1796, states that Kamehameha was then making preparations for an attack on

Kamehameha's army landing at Waikiki

As represented in a modern pageant.

Kauai. These plans were rapidly pushed and during the spring a fleet of canoes set out on the difficult journey from Oahu to Kauai but was shattered in a storm, so many of the canoes being lost that Kamehameha's plan had to be abandoned for the time being.

Revolt on Hawaii. An additional reason for postponing the attack on Kauai was the fact that during the absence of Kamehameha and his principal chiefs from Hawaii a serious revolt had broken out on that island. This was led by the brother of Kaiana and was joined by many warriors who had been followers of Keoua some years before. The rebels succeeded in getting possession of a large part of the island. Finally Kamehameha returned in the fall of 1796 and quickly crushed the revolt, the decisive battle being fought near Hilo. The rebel leader escaped but was soon captured and offered as a sacrifice to the gods.

This was the end of the wars of Kamehameha. He was able to devote the remaining years of his life to works of peace. Kauai and its dependency Niihau remained as yet unconquered, but from that direction there was no danger to Kamehameha's position, and eventually those islands were ceded to him without the necessity of armed conquest.

Questions and Exercises

1. Do you think Kamehameha was justified in attacking Maui and Oahu. Why?
2. What evil attended Kamehameha's conquests? Which do you think the greater, the evil or the good? Why?
3. Do you think that the possible good results of a war justify a war? Give evidence to support your conclusion.
4. Which do you think the greater day in Kamehameha's life — the day of the battle of the Pali, or the day on which he made the Mamalahoe Kanawai? Why?

VIII

THE REIGN OF KAMEHAMEHA

Condition of the country. At the conclusion of Kamehameha's wars of conquest the country was in bad condition. The almost constant fighting for many years had resulted in the loss of many lives — warriors who were slain in battle and women and children who died of starvation and destitution. One writer who visited the islands in 1796 estimated that Kamehameha alone had lost six thousand of his people in the recent wars. The various islands were devastated, crops destroyed, and cultivation interfered with. In this respect Maui and Oahu were much worse off than Hawaii. Before starting for Kauai in 1796 Kamehameha caused all the hogs on Oahu to be destroyed, so that the natives of that island would not be able to rebel against him. When his army returned without being able to reach Kauai, conditions were worse than before and something very much like a famine resulted.

Against this dark picture we must place the fact that the wars were now ended. There was no one left strong enough to successfully oppose Kamehameha's rule. Indeed, most of the chiefs who had fought against him were killed, and no powerful chiefs were left except those who were his supporters. Now Kamehameha, having become the supreme chief, proved himself a wise and able ruler.

Kamehameha encourages industry. Under the encouragement of Kamehameha the country quickly returned to a state of prosperity. The historian Kamakau says that the king "urged the chiefs and common people to raise food, while he set the example by doing the same thing. . . . All this the chiefs and

common people saw with their own eyes — that their lord and master labored with his own hands. . . . The common people said of Kamehameha, 'He is a farmer, a fisherman, a maker of cloth, a provider for the needy, and a father to the fatherless.'" Crime and disorder were suppressed, so that agriculture, fishing, and all other useful industries could be carried on in peace and security.

A trader who visited the islands in 1798 found them in a prosperous condition. Of Oahu he says: "The lands are in the highest state of cultivation, everything of luxurious growth; . . . you here see the breadfruit, coconut, plantain, sweet potatoes, taro, yams, banana, which are native productions, and watermelons, muskmelons, pumpkins, cabbages, and most of our garden vegetables, introduced by foreigners."

Organization of the government. One of the first things to which Kamehameha had to turn his attention was the organization of the government in such a way that his control might be permanent and beneficial. Having conquered the kingdom, everything belonged to him, both the land and the people. He was supreme; but in accordance with the usual custom he divided the land up among his chiefs as a reward for their services to him, retaining, however, a number of valuable districts as his own personal estate. The chiefs in turn subdivided it among their followers. This procedure reminds one of the feudal system of Europe in the Middle Ages. The greatest portions were given to the four Kona chiefs who had aided him in all his wars, Keaweaheulu, Keeaumoku, Kameeiamoku, and Kamanawa. These chiefs also formed a council of advisers on whom he depended. When they died their sons, Naihe, Keeaumoku, Hoapili, and Koahou, succeeded them.

The king appointed a younger chief, Kalanimoku, as prime minister and treasurer. In this office he was the most powerful person in the kingdom next to Kamehameha. So well and faithfully did he serve the king that he earned the title of the

"Iron Cable." As governors Kamehameha appointed men on whose fidelity he could depend. John Young was for a long time governor of the island of Hawaii, and Keeaumoku governor of Maui.

All the people were required to pay taxes in proportion to their ability. The taxes were paid in the products of the soil and in such things as were manufactured. "Each person was to bring the results of his own labor. Some brought pigs, chickens, dogs,

Kalanimoku and John Young
Drawn by a French artist who visited Hawaii in 1819.

sweet potatoes, mats, calabashes, and like products of home industry. The hunters brought rare feathers and birds, and the fishermen brought fish." At a later time sandalwood became an important article of taxation.

A religious king. Kamehameha maintained the ancient religion of his people with great strictness. He was the official guardian of the war god Kukailimoku and paid it special attention; but at the same time he was careful to appoint priests to attend to the ceremonies due to the other gods. He built several heiaus and repaired many others. The tapus were carefully observed, though in his later life the length of some of the periodical tapus seems to have been shortened. It is recorded that the

king caused several persons to be put to death for violations of the tapus, some of these executions occurring as late as 1817. During his lifetime no missionaries came to Hawaii to teach the people a better way, and the example of the foreigners he saw did not lead Kamehameha to have a very high opinion of Christianity. To one man who told him his gods were not true gods, the king is reported to have said, " These shall be my gods, for they have power, and by them I have become possessed of this government, and through them I have come to my throne."

Kamehameha's treatment of foreigners. Kamehameha was one of the first chiefs to realize the advantages to be gained from the foreigners who came to the islands in increasing numbers. He was fortunate in securing very early the services and advice of two such honorable men as John Young and Isaac Davis. They were the most important of his foreign advisers; but there were several others whose names are deserving of mention, among them being Holmes, Stewart, Boyd, Harbottle, Beckley, Adams, and the Spaniard, Paula Marin (*Manini*). The advice of Vancouver was also very profitable to Kamehameha. A great many of the foreigners who took up their residence on the islands were of evil or worthless character, but Kamehameha was a keen judge of men and was able to pick out those upon whom he could depend. These he rewarded liberally with land and in other ways.

The foreign traders quickly learned that Kamehameha could be trusted to deal fairly with them in all particulars. This reputation for fair dealing gave him a great advantage over some of the other chiefs during the later wars, and after the conquest was completed made the Hawaiian islands the most important commercial center in the whole Pacific Ocean. Being honorable himself, Kamehameha expected those with whom he dealt to show the same characteristic. He was honest in his relations with the traders, and he was shrewd enough not to allow them to treat him dishonestly.

Development of commerce. The fur traders were the first foreigners to visit the islands in any considerable number. They came chiefly for the purpose of buying fresh meat and vegetables, firewood, and water. As time went by other island products were sought after. Most important, perhaps, in the earlier years, was salt, of which large quantities were exported. Another article bought by the traders was cordage or rope made from the *olona* fiber, which was valuable for the rigging of ships. After the year 1800 the trade in sandalwood became of great importance. Besides these native products, Kamehameha in the later years of his reign accumulated a large stock of goods of foreign manufacture and was able to supply ships with such things as firearms and ammunition, hardware, cloth, and ship furnishings, which they sometimes needed.

In exchange for the provisions they obtained the first traders gave the natives trinkets, bits of iron, and other things of little value. As they got better acquainted with the foreigners the native chiefs came to demand articles of greater value. During the time of Kamehameha's wars of conquest guns and ammunition were the principal articles of trade. These continued to be imported and while the king was building up his navy he purchased large quantities of ship supplies of various kinds. At this period and still more at a later time cloth and many other articles of peaceful character were much sought by the Hawaiians. This demand was supplied by the traders. Kamehameha early learned the value of silver and before his death is reported to have accumulated in trade two or three hundred thousand Spanish dollars. In 1805 he exchanged a small schooner built at Oahu for the brig *Lelia Byrd*, an American ship of 175 tons burden, and he later purchased several other foreign vessels.

At first the trading was generally carried on in the ships, the natives bringing off their hogs and vegetables in canoes. The ships ordinarily visited several islands before completing their purchases. Yams could best be gotten at Kauai and Niihau; one

of the bays on the west side of Niihau was known to the traders as Yam Bay. After about 1795 the neighborhood of Honolulu harbor gradually came to be the principal trading center. Ships were frequently directed there from other places to get their supplies. The importance of Honolulu was still further increased after Kamehameha took up his residence at Waikiki in 1804. Storehouses of stone were built near the harbor to hold the king's foreign goods, and much of the produce of the other islands was

Port of Honolulu in 1816
By the French artist L. Choris.

collected in ships and brought to Oahu for the use of the king and to supply the foreign traders. After a time some traders ventured to bring their goods on shore and place them in storehouses, from which they would sell them to the natives. This development took place after the beginning of the sandalwood trade, but permanent trading houses were not established until after the death of Kamehameha.

Kauai added to the kingdom. After suppressing the revolt on Hawaii in 1796, Kamehameha continued to reside on that island for a number of years. When he saw that the affairs of the kingdom were at peace he turned his thought once more to the

conquest of Kauai. For this purpose several years were spent in building the famous fleet of *peleleu* canoes. These peleleu canoes were large double canoes, each with a platform and sail. It is said that more than 800 of them were built. When everything was ready the fleet sailed to Maui, where Kamehameha stayed for a year, and then went on to Oahu.

It was at this time that the terrible pestilence called *Okuu* (probably the cholera) swept over the islands. Great numbers of the people died. Kamehameha himself was stricken down and barely escaped death. Before the scourge finally passed off, all the other great chiefs had perished. This pestilence occurred in the year 1804 and because of it Kamehameha was compelled once more to postpone the war against Kauai; but he continued to make preparations on a still more elaborate scale.

By this time he had a large number of foreigners in his service, including carpenters, blacksmiths, and other mechanics. These were employed in building small sloops and schooners. By the end of 1809 the king's fleet consisted of more than forty sailing vessels, built at Waikiki, together with the brig *Lelia Byrd*. The young king of Kauai, Kaumualii, knew about the preparations Kamehameha was making, and he did what he could to put his island in a state of defense. Some negotiations were carried on between the two kings, and finally Kaumualii came to see that he had no choice except to surrender or to be conquered by his powerful neighbor. In 1810, therefore, he went up to Honolulu in one of the trading ships and acknowledged himself a subject of Kamehameha. The latter allowed him to retain the government of Kauai, but from that time on, Kaumualii every year paid to Kamehameha a tribute, consisting of a large quantity of tapa cloth, mats, oranges, coconuts, calabashes, spears, hogs, fans, and other articles.

The Russian episode. The later years of Kamehameha's life were disturbed by an attempt of a Russian adventurer to make a settlement on the islands and to get Kauai away from his control.

About the beginning of the nineteenth century the Russian American Fur Company, chartered by the Czar of Russia, had secured a monopoly of the fur trade in Alaska. The company had difficulty in getting supplies and for that reason wished to establish trading posts in California and the Hawaiian islands. Some trade developed between the islands and the Russian settlements in Alaska, carried on principally in American ships, and in 1812 a Russian fort and settlement were established on the coast of California, north of San Francisco. Two years later Baranoff, the governor of the Russian company, sent a ship to the Hawaiian islands to purchase supplies. This ship was wrecked on the island of Kauai but a large part of the cargo was saved by the natives.

Toward the end of the following year (1815) Baranoff sent a Dr. Scheffer in an American trading ship to try to recover what had been saved from the wrecked vessel and, if possible, to establish a trading post in Hawaii. Scheffer was kindly received by Kamehameha and allowed to travel about wherever he pleased. He spent some time on the island of Kauai, where he won the favor of Kaumualii by his skill as a physician. In the spring of 1816 Baranoff sent two ships with some Russians and Alaskan Indians, to be used by Scheffer in connection with the proposed trading post.

Scheffer then went to Honolulu, where he was allowed to land his men, and proceeded to build a blockhouse and to square out a place for a fort. Kamehameha was at this time residing on Hawaii, but he was informed of Scheffer's actions by John Young, who was in charge of Oahu, and immediately sent Kalanimoku with orders to send the Russians away. Scheffer, seeing that he was not strong enough to resist, put his men back on the ships and left Honolulu. The Hawaiians then built the fort, under the supervision of John Young, the work being completed about the end of 1816, and Captain George Beckley was placed in command of it. This was the fort from which the present Fort Street in Honolulu received its name.

After leaving Honolulu Scheffer returned to Kauai. It is clear that he went beyond the instructions he had received from Baranoff, for he tried to persuade Kaumualii to declare himself independent of Kamehameha and place himself under the protection of Russia and to give the Russians a monopoly of the sandalwood and other kinds of trade. He presented a ship to Kaumualii, who in his turn assigned to Scheffer a large tract of land. The Russians, with the assistance of Kaumualii's people, then threw up a breastwork, mounted with cannon, at Hanalei, and in the early part of 1817 built a substantial fort at Waimea, over which the Russian flag was raised.

For a time Scheffer seemed to have everything his own way, but soon Kaumualii was convinced by the arguments of the American traders, who were constant visitors at the islands, that the Russians, instead of being his friends, were dangerous enemies. Kamehameha also gave him strict instructions to expel Scheffer and his people. This was finally done, though not without some fighting.

Scheffer sent one of his ships with a report to Baranoff, while he himself, with the rest of his men, made his way to Honolulu in a leaky vessel, suffering great hardships on the voyage. From Honolulu he went to Canton on an American ship, while another American trader carried his people to the California coast. The actions of Scheffer were repudiated by Baranoff, by the directors of the Russian American Company, and by the Russian government.

Death of Kamehameha. Kamehameha resided at Oahu until about 1811, when he returned to Hawaii and spent his remaining years at Kailua. There he died, May 8, 1819. He was ill for a long time preceding his death and everything possible was done for him. Finally a heiau was built and then the priests said to him that a human sacrifice must be offered. But Kamehameha forbade this, saying, " The men are tapu for the king," meaning his son Liholiho, who was to succeed him. After his death the customary human sacrifice was not offered, but all the other practices incident to the death of a chief were carried out. The heir to the throne left the place which had been defiled by death, going to Kohala until the conclusion of the funeral ceremonies. After the bones of the dead king had been prepared for burial, they were taken by one of the chiefs and placed in a cave, the location of which has never been revealed.

Questions and Exercises

1. A man who adheres to established customs and practices is called conservative. One who adopts new ideas and practices is called progressive. Which do you think it more desirable to be? Why? Which do you think Kamehameha was?

2. Give evidence from this chapter to show that Kamehameha was wise; that he was a keen judge of character; that he was progressive; that he was conservative.

3. Copy the following list in your notebook and put a plus sign before each item which you think was a wise deed or attitude of Kamehameha's; a minus sign before the deed or attitude which

you do not approve. Be able to give arguments to support your choice:

a. Taking advice from John Young
b. Destroying hogs on Oahu
c. Dividing the land among his chiefs
d. Taxing the people
e. Observing strict tapus
f. Believing in the war god
g. Encouraging foreign trade

4. Give the story of the origin of the name of Fort Street.

For Further Reading

(Chapters V–VIII)

Gowen, H. H. — *The Napoleon of the Pacific.*

Westervelt, W. D. — "Kamehameha's Method of Government," in *Thirtieth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society.*

Alexander, W. D. — "The Proceedings of the Russians on Kauai, 1814–1816"; *Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society*, No. 6.

Campbell, Archibald. — *Voyage Round the World;* Chapters 8–10. Campbell was in Hawaii in 1809 and 1810.

Hawaiian Historical Society. — *Reprints*, No. 3, "The Log of the Brig *Hope*." The *Hope* was at the Hawaiian islands in 1791.

Hawaiian Historical Society. — *Reprints*, No. 4. "The Diary of Ebenezer Townsend, Jr." Townsend visited Hawaii in 1798.

IX

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

Liholiho, Kaahumanu, and Kalanimoku. Before his death Kamehameha appointed his son Liholiho to succeed him as king. To his nephew Kekuaokalani he intrusted the care of the war god, Kukailimoku. Liholiho, who took the title of Kamehameha II, was an amiable prince and possessed considerable shrewdness, though he was far less capable than his father. He was apt to act impulsively. For a long time he had been subject to bad influences. Kamehameha, recognizing the weaknesses of his son, appointed his favorite queen Kaahumanu, as *kuhina nui*, or premier. Under this arrangement Kaahumanu possessed equal authority with Liholiho. Kalanimoku continued to hold the position that

Kamehameha II

had been given to him by Kamehameha. After the accession of Liholiho, some of the chiefs who had been kept in subjection only by fear of Kamehameha wished to divide up the islands into several kingdoms, as they had been before. It is also probable that Kekuaokalani wanted to overthrow Liholiho and become king in his stead. But Kaahumanu and Kalanimoku, who were by far the most powerful chiefs, remained loyal to the young king and with their help he was able to put down all opposition. The influence of the foreigners was also on the side of Liholiho.

Overthrow of the tapu system. The first important event in the reign of Liholiho was the overthrow of the tapu system and the ancient religion of the Hawaiian people. A very important feature of this old system was the restriction on eating, whereby men and women were forbidden to eat together and women were not allowed to eat pork, bananas, coconuts, and certain kinds of fish. These tapus had been sometimes violated secretly and for a long time influences had been at work against the whole system. Most important of these influences was the example of the foreigners, who did not observe the tapus. Another was the report of the overthrow of the tapu system and idolatry in Tahiti. Before the death of Kamehameha many Hawaiians, including some chiefs of high rank, had ceased to believe in the gods of Hawaii.

Soon after the death of the old king the question was discussed by Liholiho, the two dowager queens (Kaahumanu and Keopuolani), Kalanimoku, and Hewahewa, the high priest, and it was secretly agreed that the whole system would be abolished as soon as it could be done with safety. It was first necessary for the young king to make sure of his throne. In these deliberations the two queens took the leading part and their opinions were of great weight, since Keopuolani, the mother of Liholiho, was the chief of highest rank in the entire kingdom, and Kaahumanu had great political influence.

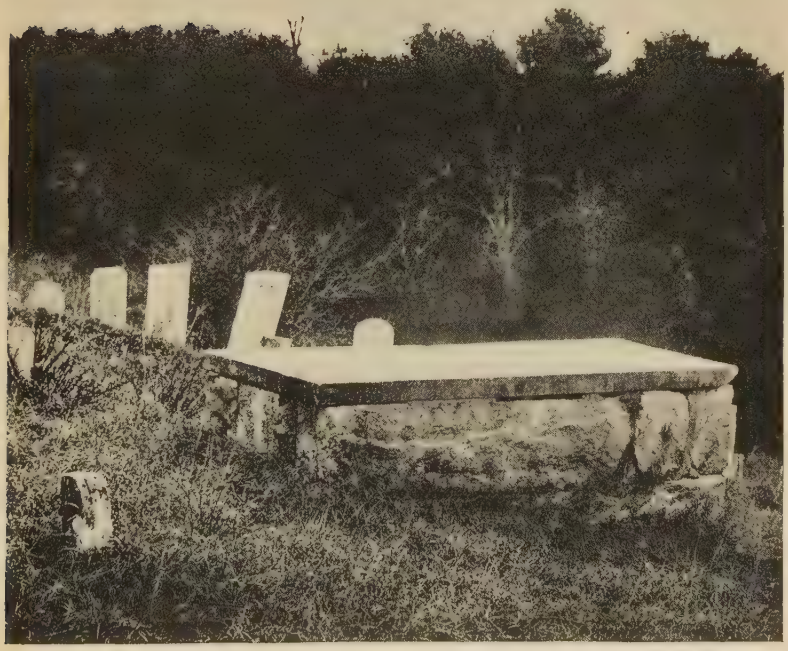
In August, 1819, a French warship visited Hawaii and the commander of the ship let it be known that he was on the side of the king. At this time Kalanimoku and his brother Boki, governor of Oahu, were baptized by the Catholic chaplain of the French ship, and Liholiho stated to the captain that he also would be baptized if it were not for certain political considerations.

About the first of November the king, under the urging of Kaahumanu and Keopuolani, took the decisive step. A great feast was prepared and Liholiho, after some hesitation, sat down and ate with the women. The people looked on with astonishment and when they saw that no harm came to him, they shouted, " The tapus are at an end, and the gods are a lie ! " This action is called the *ai noa* (free eating) as opposed to the *ai kapu* (tapu eating). Immediately orders were sent to all the islands to destroy the heiaus and burn the idols. These orders were obeyed in most places ; but some of the idols were hidden away and kept by those who still believed in the old religion.

Revolt of Kekuaokalani. There were many who looked upon the action of Liholiho as impious and wicked. Chief of these was Kekuaokalani, guardian of the war god, who had tried to dissuade the king from taking such a step. He now gathered about him those who believed as he did. Among them were several priests, who quoted an ancient Hawaiian proverb, " A religious chief shall possess a kingdom, but wicked chiefs shall always be poor." The king sent two of his advisers, Naihe and Hoapili, together with his mother Keopuolani, to the camp of Kekuaokalani to see if the matter could not be settled peacefully. This attempt failed, and both sides prepared for the struggle which should determine whether the gods of Hawaii were true or false. The king's army, led by Kalanimoku, had the advantage of a larger supply of guns and ammunition, but the opposing party fought with great courage. The battle, which took place near Kuamoo, Kona, Hawaii, resulted in a victory for the king. Kekuaokalani and his wife Manono were both killed fighting bravely, and their

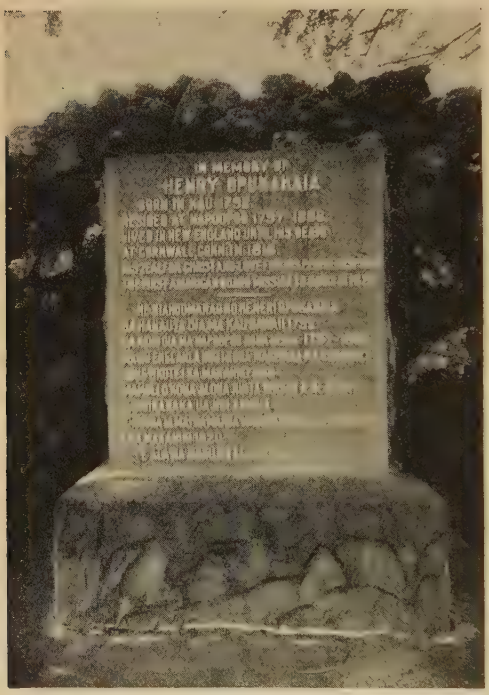
followers were scattered or taken prisoners. From the result of this battle the mass of the people concluded that their old gods were powerless and they willingly destroyed the idols and their temples. But in spite of that fact, many beliefs connected with the old religious system persisted in the minds of the people for a long time. While these events were taking place, missionaries were on the way to Hawaii, bringing the message of the Christian religion.

Opukahaia and the Foreign Mission School. Among the many Hawaiians who left the islands as seamen on foreign trading



Tomb of Opukahaia at Cornwall, Connecticut

vessels was one named Opukahaia (commonly called Obookiah), who was taken to the United States in 1809 by a Captain Brintnall, of New Haven, Connecticut. This youth was destined to play an important rôle in the history of his native land. At New Haven he lived for a time in the family of Captain Brintnall and frequently visited the buildings of Yale College. On the steps of one of those buildings he was one day found weeping because of his ignorance. The interest of several students was aroused and they offered to teach him if he wished to learn. Opukahaia eagerly seized the opportunity. During the course of the next few years he lived in a number of different families and became well known in that part of the country. He had a bright and inquiring mind and the friendly disposition characteristic of his race. His thoughts were easily guided into religious channels and he became a fervent Christian, filled with the desire to return as a missionary to his native land.



Monument to Opukahaia at Kealakekua, Hawaii

Through Opukahaia attention was drawn to several other Hawaiian youths who were living in the United States and they were given similar opportunities for improvement. In 1816 four

of these youths, including Opukahaia, were taken under the patronage of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to be educated " with a view to their being sent back in due time to their own native isles, qualified to be employed as preachers or teachers." In that year the Board provided for the establishment of the Foreign Mission School, in which these and other young men might be trained for missionary work among their own people. While a student in this school, Opukahaia died in 1818, but his influence lived. The desire for the Christianization of the Hawaiian islands which his life and experiences first awakened was the original reason for the sending of missionaries to Hawaii.

Organization of the Sandwich Islands Mission. The intense interest which had developed among the Christian churches of New England led several young men to offer themselves to the American Board as missionaries, and on October 15, 1819, the Sandwich Islands Mission was organized at Boston as a church to be transplanted into the new field. The infant church had seventeen members: Rev. Hiram Bingham and Rev. Asa Thurston, preachers; Daniel Chamberlain, farmer; Dr. Thomas Holman, physician; Samuel Whitney and Samuel Ruggles, catechists and schoolmasters; Elisha Loomis, printer; the wives of these men; and three Hawaiian youths, Thomas Hopu, William Kanui, and John Honolii. On October 23 the members of the Mission sailed from Boston on the brig *Thaddeus*. Included in the company were the five children of Mr. Chamberlain and also George P. Kaumualii, son of the king of Kauai. This Hawaiian prince had been taken to the United States when about six years of age by a sea captain to be educated. The money to pay for his education was lost through the carelessness or extravagance of the captain, and finally George had to become a common laborer. During the war of 1812 he enlisted in the American navy and was wounded in battle. In 1817 he became a student at the Foreign Mission School. His religious condition was very doubtful and

he did not become a member of the Mission, but it was hoped that his influence would be useful to the missionaries.

Arrival at Hawaii. After a voyage of five months, the *Thaddeus* came in sight of the island of Hawaii, March 30, 1820. Snow-crowned Mauna Kea lifted its head above the clouds, while below the picturesque northeast coast of the island was spread out before the expectant gaze of the missionaries. Messengers were sent ashore to find out the state of the country and the location of the king. In a few hours the news was brought back: "Kamehameha is dead — Liholiho is king — the tapus are abolished -- the heiaus destroyed — the idols burned — the supporters of the old order have been overthrown in battle." Five days later the ship came to anchor at Kailua, the residence of the king. The leaders of the Mission went ashore, paid their respects to Liholiho and his chiefs, stated their purpose in coming to Hawaii, and requested permission to land and begin the work which they had undertaken to do. It was their desire to locate part of the Mission at Kailua and part of it at Honolulu. The proposition was considered at length by the king and chiefs. The first decision was that the whole party should reside at Kailua, and it was only after much further argument that Liholiho finally agreed to the plan of the missionaries.

The first stations. It was the king's wish that the physician and two of the native youths should remain with him at Kailua. This was agreed to. Of the two ordained ministers, Mr. Thurston was selected by ballot to have charge of the station at that place. On the twelfth of April Mr. and Mrs. Thurston, Dr. and Mrs. Holman, Thomas Hopu, and William Kanui took up their residence on shore and thus started the first mission station in the Hawaiian islands. The remainder of the party went on to Honolulu and just a week later landed in that village. They were kindly received both by the natives and by the foreign residents and obtained temporary shelter in several small houses.

A few days later the *Thaddeus* sailed to Kauai in order to land George Kaumualii at his native island. It was considered advisable for Mr. Whitney and Mr. Ruggles to go with him for the purpose of taking the greetings of the Mission to his father

Photograph by courtesy of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

A view of the missionary establishment at Honolulu, taken October 11, 1820, by Dexter Chamberlain

The following explanation is on the original drawing: No. 1 is the house for Public worship — school — and social prayer — and a part of it affords a study and lodging room for Mr. Bingham. It is 28 feet long and 20 wide, has 2 doors and three windows — the window that appears at the south end looks out towards the open sea which is about a mile distant. The door at the opposite end opens towards the mountain and towards the road leading from the village eastward to Witete. No. 2 is a dwelling house — it has one door and 3 windows, two rooms, one for a lodging room for Mrs. Loomis and the other for orphan girls. No. 3 is a dwelling house occupied by Capt. Chamberlin and family. It has one door and 4 windows and 3 rooms. No. 4 is a store house about 20 feet square, built like the others, in the same line, and with the same materials viz. round poles from 1 to 4, 6 in. diameter and thatched with grass — superadded to which are walls and a covering of mortar made of clay and grass to secure it from fire and from rogues. No. 5 is a dwelling house, now occupied by Dr. Wiliems and an unfortunate British seaman, but intended as a lodging place for John Honoree and orphan boys. No. 6 is a small cooking house where the stove and a large boiler are set up. This is covered with mortar. No. 7 is a Ranai or a long open building connecting the doors of three houses, having itself 3 entrances 2 on the south side and one on the east end. No. 8 the spring of water.

and of examining the possibilities of that field for missionary effort. They were joyfully received by King Kaumualii, who was from the beginning one of the strongest friends of the Mission. He begged the two missionaries to settle on his island, promising them abundant support. After careful consideration at Honolulu

this invitation was accepted and about the end of July Mr. Whitney and Mr. Ruggles returned to Kauai with their wives and established the mission station at Waimea. In response to the urgent request of Kalanimoku Mr. Loomis was sent to Kawaihae to teach that chief and his wife " and a class of favorite youths whom he wished to have instructed."

At all of these places the work of preaching the gospel was at once begun. At first it was necessary to use interpreters. Three months after landing at Kailua Mr. Thurston preached before the king the first Christian sermon ever heard by Hawaiian royalty, from the text, " I have a message from God unto thee." Besides preaching to the natives the missionaries also held religious services for the resident foreigners and for the sailors on board the ships that visited the islands.

The first schools. One of the first things to which the missionaries turned their attention was the work of education. Schools were started at the different stations, and before the end of 1820 these schools had about one hundred pupils of all ages and both sexes. Among the first pupils in the school at Kailua were the king and several of the chiefs. The wives of the missionaries had an important part in the work of teaching. There was much difficulty in the beginning because the natives did not understand English and the missionaries did not know the Hawaiian language, so that it was necessary to use interpreters. At first the number of pupils was not large, but as soon as books had been printed in the Hawaiian language and native teachers had been trained, interest rapidly increased and within a very few years there were thousands of pupils.

Writing and printing. The Hawaiian language had not, up to this time, been systematically reduced to a written form; there were no books written or printed in that language. Therefore, the missionaries first had to learn the language, then to reduce it to writing, to prepare schoolbooks, to translate the Bible, and to print these books so that they could be used in the schools

and in the religious services. All of this required much time and patient study. It was not until January, 1822, that the first printing was done in the Hawaiian language. This was a little pamphlet containing the Hawaiian alphabet and some lessons in spelling and reading — the first regular textbook for use in the

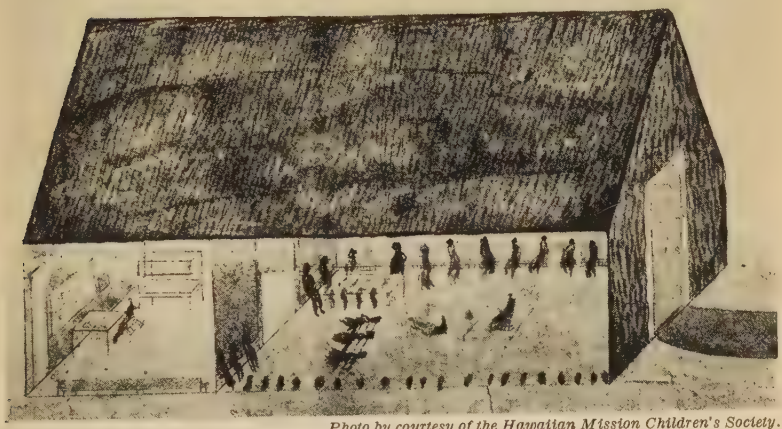


Photo by courtesy of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society.

The first school opened by the missionaries in Honolulu in May, 1820

This is supposed to represent the interior of the building marked No. 1 in the view of the missionary establishment (p. 105) by Dexter Chamberlain. The following explanation is on the original drawing: The School House at Hanaroorah, drawn by G. Holmes, one side being supposed to be removed and giving a partial view of Mrs. Bingham's room, and school, as the pupils are receiving instruction from her lips, and her babe sleeping by her side, rocked by a little heathen child.

schools. The alphabet and method of spelling first used were later changed in a few particulars when the method now in use was finally adopted. From this time on the mission press was kept busy turning out schoolbooks and religious tracts. Many Scripture passages were printed in these books, but the formal translation of the Bible was not begun until 1824. The most important parts were translated and printed first. The New

Testament was completed in 1832, and by May 10, 1839, the entire Bible had been printed in the Hawaiian language.

Reinforcement and expansion. In 1822 a committee from the London Missionary Society visited the islands. With them was Rev. William Ellis, who had for six years been a missionary in Tahiti. Because the language of Tahiti was very much like that of Hawaii, Mr. Ellis in a few weeks found that he could speak Hawaiian fluently and he was the first person to preach a sermon in that language. In response to the urgent invitation of the native chiefs and the American missionaries, the committee decided that Mr. Ellis should remain at the Hawaiian islands to help in the work there.

The following year a large group of new workers arrived, under direction of the American Board, to reinforce the Mission. This increase in the number of laborers made it possible to expand the work considerably. The station at Kailua, which was abandoned at the end of 1820 owing to the removal of the king to Honolulu, was begun again. A second station on the island of Hawaii was established at Hilo, and a station at Lahaina on the island of Maui.

The first fruits of Christian missionary efforts. From the very beginning the native chiefs took great interest in the work of the missionaries, particularly in the educational work. It was somewhat more difficult to arouse their interest in the new religion, though they were generally willing enough to listen to what the missionaries had to say. Perhaps the first who could be considered genuine converts to Christianity were Keopuolani, the queen mother; Kapiolani, a high chiefess of Hawaii, who gave testimony of her Christian faith by publicly defying the dreaded goddess Pele at the volcano of Kilauea; Kamakau, a chief of Kaawaloa; and Puaaiki, a blind man not of chiefly rank, who is better known by his Christian name of Bartimeus. The first to be baptized was Keopuolani, that sacrament being administered to her on September 16, 1823, just

an hour before her death. From the first Kaahumanu was friendly to the missionaries personally, but for some time did not show much interest either in learning to read and write or in hearing the gospel message explained. Her real interest in these things dates from about the beginning of 1824. During that and the following years the Christian workers were greatly encouraged. The congregations grew rapidly in size and many of the natives applied for baptism and admission to the church. The missionaries were slow about granting these requests, since they wanted to be sure of the steadfastness of the converts. July 10, 1825, the blind man Puaaiki was baptized and admitted at Lahaina, and on December 5 of that year eight Hawaiians were received into the church at Honolulu. Among these were Kaahumanu, Kalanimoku, and several others of high rank.

Questions and Exercises

1. If you had lived in New Haven in 1818, would you have wished to come to Hawaii as a missionary? Give reasons for wanting to come; for not wanting to come.

2. Copy in your notebook and check the word which best describes Liholiho's action on breaking the tapus: *a.* rash, *b.* rude, *c.* careless, *d.* bold, *e.* wicked, *f.* courageous.

3. If you had been in Kaahumanu's place, would you have welcomed the party on the *Thaddeus?* Give reasons for and against.

4. Compare the first schools of the missionaries with schools today as regards: *a.* buildings, *b.* pupils, *c.* language used, *d.* subjects studied.

5. If you had lived in those early days, would you have gone to school? Why?

For Further Reading

Dwight, E. W. — *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah.*

Gulick, Rev. and Mrs. O. H. — *The Pilgrims of Hawaii.* Contains many extracts from letters and journals of the missionaries.

X

SANDALWOOD DAYS

Importance of sandalwood trade. The fur trade first made the Hawaiian islands well known and important in the commercial world. Furs, of course, were not obtained at the islands; the traders came here to rest and to get needed supplies of food stuffs. Sandalwood was the first Hawaiian product that became really profitable as an article of export. This fragrant wood was in great demand in China, where it was used in the manufacture of incense for the temples and in the making of small articles of furniture. The Chinese were willing to pay high prices for it. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, so far as the Hawaiian islands were concerned, sandalwood was king in an economic sense.

Origin and early development. In its origin the Hawaiian sandalwood trade was an outgrowth of the fur trade. It is not known exactly when it began, but it is probable that the fur traders discovered sandalwood on the islands about the year 1790. An attempt was made to develop the trade at that time, but for some reason it did not succeed. It was not until about fifteen years later that the trade in sandalwood began to assume large proportions and the year 1810 can be taken as marking roughly the beginning of the period in which the sandalwood trade was the predominant interest on the islands. The sandalwood trade, like the fur trade, was almost monopolized by American traders.

At first sandalwood was merely a side issue of the fur trade. The traders went first to the northwest coast of America, where they obtained as many furs as they could during the season.

Going from there to Hawaii, they completed their cargoes with sandalwood, the whole being exchanged in China for tea, silk, and other Chinese goods which could be sold to advantage in the United States. This system continued to be followed for many years, but soon after 1810 some traders began to deal in sandalwood also as a separate branch of commerce. It is probable that Jonathan Winship, Nathan Winship, and William Heath Davis were the first to go into the business in this way.

A royal contract. These three men, each in command of a ship, had been for some years engaged in the fur trade along the American coast in coöperation with the Russians. They had visited the Hawaiian islands a number of times and become familiar with their commercial possibilities. In the fall of 1811 they stopped at the islands on their way to China, each vessel taking on board, in addition to its cargo of furs, a considerable quantity of sandalwood. Six months later they returned to Hawaii and on July 12, 1812, signed an agreement with Kamehameha, by which they were given a monopoly of the business of exporting sandalwood and cotton for a period of ten years. Kamehameha agreed to gather the sandalwood for the ships and in return he was to receive one fourth of the net proceeds of the sale of this wood, to be paid to him either in cash or in such products and manufactures of China as he might see fit to order.

One cargo of sandalwood was taken to China under this agreement, and then the breaking out of the War of 1812 between the United States and England prevented the further carrying out of the contract. During the war the Winships and Davis resided and made their headquarters on the Hawaiian islands and in spite of the danger from English warships succeeded in carrying on a profitable trade between China, Hawaii, the South Sea islands, and the Russian and Spanish settlements on the coast of America.

Policy of Kamehameha. Sandalwood became a source of wealth to the king. Kamehameha retained in his own hands an absolute monopoly of the trade and the business was carried on

under his direction. None of the other chiefs was allowed to share in it and none of them received any benefit from this traffic during his lifetime, even in the form of gifts from the king. The Chinese, European, and American goods and Spanish dollars obtained by him were stored in warehouses, where they remained for the most part unused until after his death. To a certain extent this policy resulted in a restriction of the sale of sandalwood and in a conservation of the supply; but it also resulted in some dissatisfaction among the chiefs who wished to share in the profits.

In 1816 Kamehameha purchased two sailing vessels, the *Albatross*, formerly commanded by Nathan Winship, and the *Forester*, an English ship, whose name was changed to *Kaahumanu*, in honor of the queen. These ships were paid for with sandalwood. The *Kaahumanu* was put under the command of Captain Alexander Adams, an Englishman in the royal service, and was sent the following year to China with a cargo of sandalwood for the king. A safe voyage was made, but the port charges and other expenses at Canton ate up most of the profits of the enterprise. From this venture Kamehameha learned of the practices of civilized governments in the regulation of their ports, and he immediately established a set of charges to be paid by ships visiting the port of Honolulu. Before his death Kamehameha bought two or three other foreign ships in exchange for sandalwood.

Policy of Liholiho. When Liholiho came to the throne his position was not very strong and he found it best, in order to win the support of the chiefs, to allow them to share in the sandalwood trade. The king himself had extravagant ideas and the chiefs followed his example; they all began to cut sandalwood and to buy foreign merchandise without any thought for the future. The buying of foreign ships became a sort of mania. In the three years immediately following the death of Kamehameha, Liholiho and the principal chiefs bought no less than eight sailing ships,

at a total cost of more than three hundred thousand dollars. European, Chinese, and American merchandise was also purchased in immense quantities. Certain American trading houses made a practice of sending out ships and cargoes for the special purpose of selling them to the Hawaiian chiefs.

From a picture owned by William E. Silsbee.

Cleopatra's Barge

One of the vessels bought by the Hawaiian chiefs and paid for with sandalwood. The background is not Hawaiian.

Kamehameha had always paid at the time of purchase for whatever he bought; but after the death of that wise king, Liholiho and his chiefs frequently gave promissory notes for large amounts, payable in sandalwood. Competition among the traders became so keen that they encouraged the chiefs to buy on credit if they did not have a supply of sandalwood on hand. One trader, in describing how he persuaded Kaumualii to buy another ship and cargo after he had already bought one, wrote as follows: "I treated him with every attention and honour, made him

handsome presents, and gave him elegant dinners. After much trouble and difficulty I succeeded in selling the Brig and Cargo," for which Kaumualii gave his note for $77,000 worth of sandalwood.

Routine of the sandalwood trade. The sandalwood was bought and sold by weight, the unit being the *picul*, which weighed $133\frac{1}{3}$ pounds. The price depended upon the quality of the wood and upon the condition of the Canton market. At the islands the traders paid from seven to ten dollars per picul for wood which they sold in China at a profit of three or four dollars per picul. In the later years the price was not so high. The traders paid for the wood not in cash, but in merchandise on which they themselves fixed the prices in such a way that the Hawaiians were compelled to pay exorbitantly for all the goods they received. The traders made two profits, one on the goods they sold and one on the sandalwood they bought, and both these profits were made at the expense of the Hawaiians.

At the beginning of the reign of Kamehameha there was an abundance of sandalwood on all the larger islands. It grew on the mountains, and, because there were no roads and no beasts of burden, it was very hard to get it down to the seashore for the ships. Several travelers have described the way in which this was done. One of these visitors, who was at the islands in 1822, says that the sandalwood "is brought from the woods in logs three or four feet long, and from two to seven or eight inches in diameter. There being no carriages on the island, these logs are carried down to the seaside on the heads and shoulders of men, women, and children (for all bear a part in the busy scene) and lodged in large storehouses, to be ready for shipment. . . . For conveying their sandalwood from the distant parts of Woahoo and the other Sandwich Islands to the port of Hannah-rourah, about twelve small brigs and schooners are now employed."

At one place this traveler found the chief "in high good humour, . . . busily employed in weighing the sandal-wood on

the beach, and shipping it on board the two vessels which lay in the roadstead. At a little distance from his own hut was a large storehouse, not less than fifty feet in length by thirty in breadth, and about thirty feet high, where the sandal-wood was piled up and kept ready for embarkation; work people of both sexes and all ages were employed in carrying it down to the beach. The chief and his attendants directed their operations; and one confidential man, whose duty it was to see fair play, stood over the weighing machine with the American captain for whose ship the freight was destined."

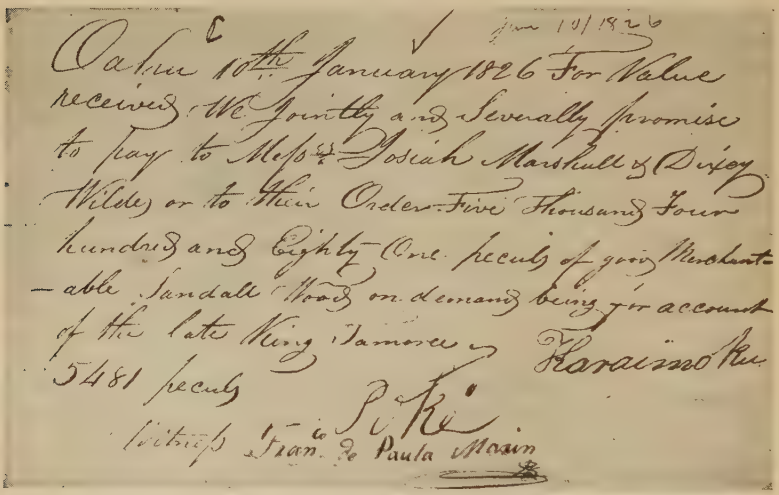
Another visitor, who made a tour around the island of Hawaii in 1823, saw the collection of sandalwood going on in several places. In the district of Hilo he saw the chief "and three or four hundred people, returning with sandal wood, which they had been cutting in the mountains. Each man carried two or three pieces, from four to six feet long and about three inches in diameter. The bark and sap [wood] had been chipped off with small adzes. . . . It is brought down to the beach in pieces ranging from a foot to eighteen inches in diameter and six or eight feet long to small sticks not more than an inch thick and a foot and a half long."

While stopping in Kohala this traveler and his companions were wakened one morning before daylight "by vast multitudes of people passing through the district from Waimea with sandal wood. . . . There were between two and three thousand men, carrying each from one to six pieces of sandal wood, according to their size and weight. It was generally tied on their backs by bands of *ti* leaves, passed over the shoulders and under the arms, and fastened across their breasts. When they had deposited the wood at the storehouse, they departed to their respective homes."

Effect of the sandalwood trade. Although nearly all of the common people were required to spend a great deal of their time in cutting sandalwood and carrying it down to the seashore, the

supply obtained in this way was not large enough to pay for all the ships and foreign goods which were bought, and therefore in the course of a few years the king and chiefs piled up a heavy debt, the extent of which they did not know. How this debt was finally paid will be told in a later chapter.

The sandalwood trade also had a bad effect upon the common people. They had to spend so much of their time cutting and


Oahu 10th January 1826 For Value
received We Jointly and Severally promise
to pay to Messrs Josiah Marshall & Dixey
Wilder or to their Order Five Thousand Four
hundred and Eighty One peculs of good Merchant-
able Sandal Wood on demand being for account
of the late King Tamoree
5481 peculs
Witness Jean de Paula Marin

From the original in the Archives of Hawaii.

A sandalwood note signed by Kalanimoku (Karaimoku) and Boki (Poki)

carrying this wood that they could not pay as much attention as before to their ordinary duties. Agriculture was neglected and the food supply was reduced, so that there was much suffering on this account. The hardships endured by the natives while working in the sandalwood forests also caused much sickness. As a result, many of the people died.

The reckless way in which the trees were cut destroyed the forests. Very little effort was made to preserve the young trees or to replace those which were cut down. In a few years sandalwood almost disappeared from the islands. Even to-day, a

hundred years after the trade was at its height, only a few small groves are to be found.

Coming of the whalers. With the destruction of the sandalwood forests the Hawaiian chiefs lost an important source of revenue. But before the sandalwood trade was entirely ended, the whaling ships began to visit the islands for the purpose of resting from their hard voyages and buying supplies of various kinds, especially food stuffs, much as the fur traders had done only a few years before. The first whalers arrived about 1820, and within a few years a large number of whaleships visited the islands twice each year, thus opening up a new and important source of revenue and keeping the people of the islands in contact with the civilized world.

Questions and Exercises

1. Copy in your notebook and put a plus sign before the true statements:

   a. Sandalwood was carried from Hawaii to America by American traders.

   b. Kamehameha shared his sandalwood profits with the chiefs.

   c. Kamehameha put the money he received from the sandalwood trade in the bank.

   d. Liholiho allowed the chiefs to share in this trade.

2. Make a list of the good results of the sandalwood trade; of the bad results. Compare them. Which were greater?

3. Look up the word conservation. Were the sandalwood forests conserved?

4. What natural resources should be conserved? Do we believe in conservation in Hawaii to-day? Give proof.

5. Did the United States believe in conservation at the time of the sandalwood trade? Give proof of your answer.

For Further Reading

Thrum, T. G. — "The Sandalwood Trade of Early Hawaii," in *Hawaiian Annual for 1905*, pages 43–74.

XI

FOREIGN RELATIONS

First foreign agent. The same year that saw the coming of the missionaries to Hawaii saw also the appointment of the first agent to represent a foreign government at these islands. In September, 1820, John Coffin Jones was appointed by President Monroe to be "Agent of the United States for Commerce and Seamen" and to have general supervision of American interests at the Hawaiian islands. Mr. Jones was a trader who had visited the islands several times and was familiar with the people and their language. His appointment was an indication of the importance which American commercial interests had attained.

Relations with England. Up to this time the official relations of the Hawaiian government with foreign powers, so far as it could be said to have any official relations, had been exclusively with England. The king and people looked upon Kamehameha's agreement with Vancouver as placing the islands under the protection of Great Britain. This idea was repeated by Kamehameha in a letter which he sent to the king of England in 1810. Nor is it strange that the Hawaiian people should feel this way. The first foreign ships-of-war that came to Hawaii were those commanded by the English explorers, Cook, Vancouver, and Broughton. The principal advisers of the king were Englishmen — Young, Davis, Beckley, Adams.

Vancouver had promised Kamehameha that a ship-of-war armed with brass guns would be sent to him. Kamehameha in 1810 reminded King George III of this promise, and in 1816 the governor of New South Wales wrote that he had received orders

from England to build such a ship and send it to Kamehameha. A long delay followed and the promised vessel, a small schooner called the *Prince Regent*, did not arrive until 1822, when it was presented to Liholiho. In acknowledgment of this gift Liholiho wrote a letter to King George IV, in which he said, " The whole of these islands having been conquered by my father, I have succeeded to the government of them and beg leave to place them all under the protection of your most excellent Majesty."

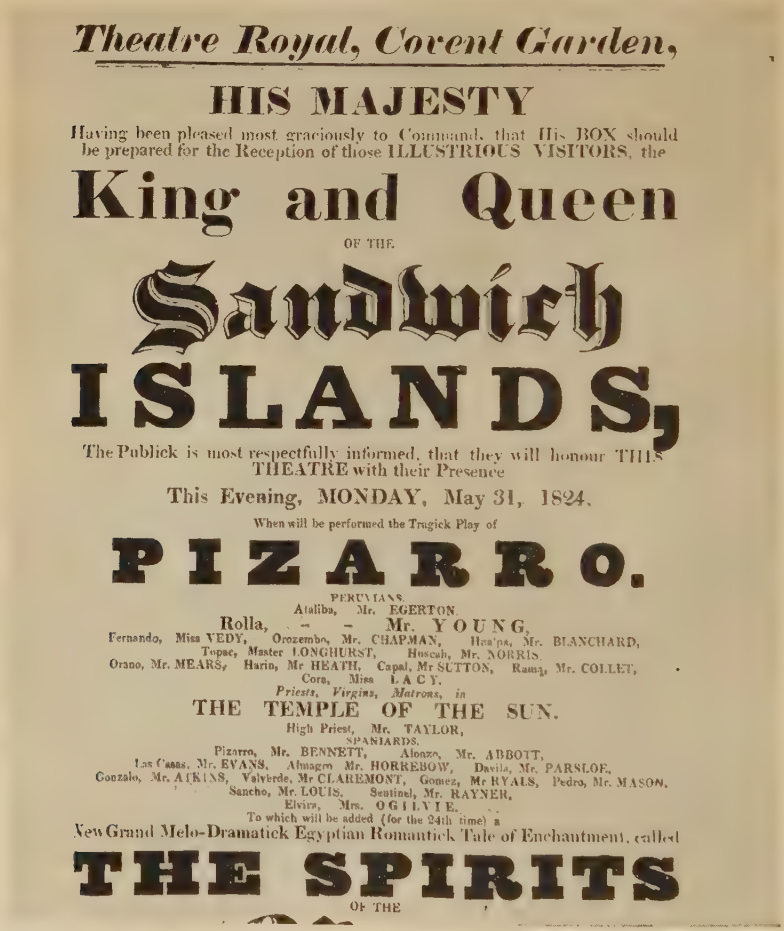
Liholiho's visit to England. In spite of these political relations with England, Liholiho could not help noticing the very rapid growth of American interests: first, American fur traders; next, American missionaries; and finally, a great swarm of American whalers. There is reason to believe that the king became somewhat suspicious of American designs on the islands and it is probable that he was afraid of the Russians. For these reasons he wished to make sure that the British government would protect him in time of danger. He also wanted to travel abroad and see those foreign countries of which he had heard so much and which had been visited by so many of his people. At all events, in the fall of 1823, he announced his determination to visit England. It was thought that he would also visit the United States before his return to Hawaii.

Before his departure a council of the chiefs was held, at which Liholiho named as heir apparent to the throne his younger brother Kauikeaouli and placed the government, during his absence, in the hands of Kaahumanu as regent, with Kalanimoku as prime minister.

Passage to England was engaged in an English whaleship, *l'Aigle*, commanded by Captain Valentine Starbuck. The royal party included King Liholiho, Queen Kamamalu, Governor Boki of Oahu and his wife Liliha, the chiefs Kekuanaoa, Kapihe, Manuia, James Young (one of the sons of John Young), and John Rives, a Frenchman who had been the king's secretary. It was not at first intended that Rives should go, but he boarded the

ship at the moment of departure and the king allowed him to remain on board. He served for a time as interpreter.

Sailing from Honolulu November 27, 1823, *l'Aigle* arrived at Portsmouth, England, May 22, 1824. On learning of the arrival



Theatre Royal, Covent Garden,

HIS MAJESTY

Having been pleased most graciously to Command, that His BOX should be prepared for the Reception of those ILLUSTRIOUS VISITORS, the

King and Queen

OF THE

Sandwich

ISLANDS,

The Publick is most respectfully informed, that they will honour THIS THEATRE with their Presence

This Evening, MONDAY, May 31, 1824.

When will be performed the Tragick Play of

PIZARRO.

PERUVIANS.

Ataliba, Mr. EGERTON.

Rolla, - - - Mr. YOUNG,

Fernando, Miss VEDY, Orozembo, Mr. CHAPMAN, Huayna, Mr. BLANCHARD,
Topac, Master LONGHURST, Huscah, Mr. NORRIS.
Orano, Mr. MEARS, Hario, Mr HEATH, Capal, Mr SUTTON, Rama, Mr. COLLET,
Cora, Miss LACY.

Priests, Virgins, Matrons, in

THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN.

High Priest, Mr. TAYLOR,

SPANIARDS.

Pizarro, Mr. BENNETT, Alonzo, Mr. ABBOTT,
Las Casas, Mr. EVANS, Almagro Mr. HORREBOW, Davila, Mr. PARSLOE,
Gonzalo, Mr. ATKINS, Valverde, Mr CLAREMONT, Gomez, Mr RYALS, Pedro, Mr. MASON,
Sancho, Mr. LOUIS. Sentinel, Mr. RAYNER,
Elvira, Mrs. OGILVIE.

To which will be added (for the 24th time) a

New Grand Melo-Dramatick Egyptian Romantick Tale of Enchantment, called

THE SPIRITS

OF THE

From the original in the Archives of Hawaii.

Handbill of theater attended by King Liholiho and Queen Kamamalu while in London

of the distinguished visitors the British government appointed the Hon. Frederick Byng to have charge of the party while they remained in England. In London the Hawaiian king and his attendants created something of a sensation. They were lavishly entertained and visited various places of interest, including the parks and Westminster Abbey. On one night they occupied the royal box at Covent Garden theater, where they saw the play "Pizarro."

Death of the king and queen. On June 10 Manuia was taken ill with the measles and within a few days the whole company was stricken with the same disease in a violent form. They were attended by the physicians of the king of England and all soon recovered except the king and queen. Kamamalu's lungs were affected and on July 8 she passed away. Up to this time it was thought that Liholiho would recover, but his grief so depressed him that he grew worse and died only six days later.

The illness of the Hawaiians had prevented an interview with King George before the death of Liholiho; but as soon as possible after that event they were received in audience at Windsor Castle. The British king expressed to the survivors his sorrow at the death of their king and queen and his interest in the prosperity of their native land. In the course of the interview he told them that the Hawaiian government should manage the internal affairs of the island and that the British government would protect them from foreign dangers. As a mark of respect to the Hawaiian people and partly in order to counteract American influence at the islands, the British government ordered that the bodies of King Liholiho and Queen Kamamalu should be placed in suitable coffins and conveyed to Honolulu in the forty-six-gun frigate *Blonde*, commanded by Captain the Right Honorable (George Anson) Lord Byron, a cousin of Lord Byron, the poet.

Visit of Lord Byron. The *Blonde*, carrying the bodies of the king and queen and the surviving members of the royal party, arrived at Lahaina May 4, 1825, and at Honolulu two days later.

News of the death of Liholiho and Kamamalu had already reached the islands and the return of their dead bodies was the signal for an outburst of wailing, by which the people were accustomed to express their grief. Boki and his companions told Kaahumanu, Kalanimoku, and the other chiefs and people all that had occurred during their trip abroad. Boki in particular advised his fellow countrymen to pay diligent heed to the new learning and the Christian religion, which had made England the civilized country that it was.

On the following day Lord Byron was received in state by the regent and chiefs at the house of Kalanimoku, at which time he made a speech expressing the good wishes of the king of England. A number of presents were distributed: a gold watch to Kalanimoku, a silver teapot to Kaahumanu, and a dress suit of the Windsor uniform with sword, hat, and feather to the young Prince Kauikeaouli, who was to succeed his brother Liholiho as king.

On the eleventh of May the bodies of the king and queen were landed from the *Blonde*. "The ponderous and elegant triple coffins, of lead, mahogany, and oak, covered with crimson velvet, richly studded with gilt nails and ornaments, and weighing together about 2,200 lb., were placed upon two wagons covered with black tapa, in the form of a hearse, and drawn by forty chiefs of the middle and lower ranks." They were taken first to the church, where a Christian funeral service was held, and then to a house where they were kept until a proper tomb could be constructed or them.

The chiefs held a national council on June 6 and confirmed Kauikeaouli as king with the title of Kamehameha III. Since the new king was only twelve years old, the government continued to be in charge of Kaahumanu and Kalanimoku. It was resolved that Kauikeaouli should receive a Christian education. The chiefs adopted the principle that land should descend from father to son, instead of going back to the new king for reallot-

ment at the death of each ruler. This principle of hereditary succession had been introduced by Kamehameha I, but Liholiho had shown a tendency to depart from it. Lord Byron was present at this council and gave the chiefs some good advice regarding the government of the country. He also expressed his approval of the work of the American missionaries.

The day after this council the *Blonde* sailed to Hilo. That harbor was surveyed and was afterwards called "Byron's Bay." The volcano of Kilauea was visited and various scientific observations were made. Before returning to England Lord Byron erected a monument at Kealakekua Bay to the memory of Captain James Cook.

Kamehameha III in 1825

British consul appointed. While the Hawaiian king and his chiefs were in England the British government appointed Richard Charlton as consular agent to have charge of British interests in Hawaii and at the Society Islands. Like Mr. Jones, the American agent, Consul Charlton was a trader who had business interests in the Hawaiian islands and had visited them several times.

He returned to Honolulu shortly before the arrival of the *Blonde*.

End of the kingdom of Kauai. During the absence of Liholiho in England an important change took place at the islands. The kingdom of Kauai was brought to an end. Kamehameha had allowed that island to continue as a separate but tributary state, with Kaumualii as king. It seems that when Liholiho came to the throne he was afraid that Kaumualii might try to become independent again as he had done at the time of the Russian episode. Kamehameha had never visited Kauai. Liholiho determined to do so in order to make sure of Kaumualii's loyalty. Accordingly, in July, 1821, he went over to that island. The trip was rather a wild and reckless one, exposing the king to all sorts of dangers. But he was royally received by Kaumualii, who freely placed all his possessions at his disposal. Liholiho confirmed him as tributary king of Kauai, but when he himself returned to Honolulu he took Kaumualii along with him practically as a prisoner. At Oahu the Kauai king was persuaded or compelled to take Kaahumanu as his wife. He continued to have the title of king; but from this time on he had very little real authority.

Kaumualii died in May, 1824, leaving his kingdom to Liholiho, with the provision that the land should continue in possession of the chiefs then occupying it. A weak governor was appointed and some dissatisfied chiefs soon raised a rebellion, with George Kaumualii, who had turned out to be a worthless fellow, as its head. The rebels had little chance of success, but several battles were fought before they were finally completely defeated. Kauai was then made a part of the Hawaiian kingdom on the same basis as the other islands, and Kaikioewa, a strong chief, was appointed governor.

Growth of American interests. The sandalwood trade was almost wholly in the hands of Americans and as one result of it the chiefs had gotten heavily in debt to these traders. As time went by the traders found it more and more difficult to collect the

amounts which they claimed were due them. The American whaling interests were also becoming important. The first whalers arrived about the same time as the missionaries, and they increased in number from year to year. In the course of three months in the spring of 1826 nearly forty American whaleships visited Honolulu, representing a value of nearly two million dollars. Many of the sailors deserted at the islands, causing trouble not only to the ships but also to the Hawaiian government because of their disorderly conduct. Finally the owners of the whaleships appealed to the government of the United States to send a warship to Hawaii to prevent these evils.

Visits of American warships. In response to these appeals the United States ship-of-war *Dolphin*, in command of Lieutenant John Percival, was sent to the islands in the spring of 1826, remaining about three months. In some respects the visit of the *Dolphin* did much harm, but Lieutenant Percival was of great service to the whalers in preventing the desertion of sailors and in other ways. He also discussed the matter of the sandalwood debts and the chiefs agreed that all the debts should be considered as one national debt and paid as soon as possible.

In the fall of the same year the United States sloop-of-war *Peacock* came to the islands for a stay of about three months. The commander of this vessel, Captain Thomas ap[1] Catesby Jones, showed a friendly spirit toward the Hawaiians and greatly encouraged the missionaries in the work they were doing. He protected the interests of the whaleships and took up again with the chiefs the matter of the debts. A meeting was held at which the traders presented their claims. These were discussed and a few of them were not allowed; but the chiefs finally acknowledged themselves indebted to the amount of $150,000 or $200,000, which they agreed to pay as soon as the sandalwood could be gathered. The chiefs then passed a regulation requiring every man in the islands to bring half a picul of sandalwood or pay four Spanish

[1] *Ap* is Welsh, like the Gaelic *Mac*, for *son of*.

dollars and every woman to contribute a smaller amount as a tax to be applied on this debt.

First treaty with a foreign nation. Captain Jones, on behalf of the United States, made a treaty with the Hawaiian government. It provided for perpetual peace and friendship between the two countries and for the protection of American commerce on the islands. This was the first treaty ever negotiated by the Hawaiian government with a foreign power. It was signed December 23, 1826, and though it was never ratified by the United States government it continued to be respected by the Hawaiian kingdom for many years, until another treaty was concluded between the two nations.

Questions and Exercises

1. Here are some reasons for Liholiho's visit to England. Copy them in your notebook and put a plus sign before the one you think Liholiho considered the most important. Put a minus sign before the one you consider most important. Give reasons for your choice in each case.

   a. To obtain for Hawaii the protection of England.
   b. To see the world.
   c. To study the English form of government.
   d. For pleasure.

2. Give reasons for linking the name of Lord Byron with that of Vancouver.

3. Give evidence from this chapter to show (1) the increase of British influence in Hawaii; (2) the increase of American influence.

4. In what way did the coming of the first whaleships give promise of both prosperity and trouble?

For Further Reading

Diary of Andrew Bloxam, Naturalist of the "Blonde," on Her Trip from England to the Hawaiian Islands, 1824–25. Bernice P Bishop Museum, Special Publication No. 10.

XII

PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION

In the twenty years following the introduction of Christianity a remarkable change took place in the Hawaiian islands. This was mainly due to the civilizing influence of the new religion and the new education that came with it; but the growth of commerce and the development of industries also contributed much to the general result.

A fight for law and order. For many years before the coming of the missionaries there had been foreign traders and some foreign residents at the islands, but these foreigners had not done much to improve the condition of the natives. There were some excellent men among them, who had introduced many of the ways of civilization; but there were some others of a less desirable class. Taken as a whole their influence was not for the best. From year to year a good many sailors deserted from the whaleships. It used to be said that these men left their consciences behind when they started out on a whaling voyage. At any rate the most of them were pretty rough characters and their conduct was not what it should have been. The very first law printed in Hawaii (1822) was made for the purpose of stopping the disorders caused by these foreign sailors. Their example had a bad effect on the Hawaiians.

About 1825, as a result of the teachings of the missionaries, the chiefs passed some very strict laws in an effort to stop the evils that had been growing up, particularly in Honolulu and Lahaina. Many of the foreign sailors, supported at times by the captains of their ships, tried by threats and violence to prevent these laws

NOTICE.

WHEREAS disturbances have arisen of late on shore, the peace broken, and the inhabitants annoyed, by the crews of different vessels having liberty granted them on shore, it is hereby ordered by His Majesty the King, that in future, should any seamen of whatever vessel, be found riotous or disturbing the peace in any manner, he or they shall be immediately secured in the Fort, where he or they shall be detained until thirty dollars is paid for the release of each offender.

Masters of vessels are informed that all deserters shall be returned to their respective commanders. No seaman shall be left on shore without permission from the King.

DONE at Woahoo, this 8th day of March, 1822.

By order of His Majesty,
JOHN RIVES, *Sec'y.*

NOTICE.

HIS Majesty the King, desirous of preserving the peace and tranquillity of his domintons, has ordered that any foreigner residing on his Islands, who shall be guilty of molesting strangers, or in any way disturbing the peace, shall on complaint be confined in the Fort, and thence sent from the Islands by the first conveyance.

DONE at Woahoo, this 8th day of March, 1822.

By order of His Majesty,
JOHN RIVES, *Sec'y.*

Printed at the Mission Press, Woahoo

The first law printed in Hawaii

from being enforced. The hostility of the foreigners was directed largely against the missionaries. In October, 1825, and in the same month in 1826 and 1827, the crews of whaling vessels threatened the life of Rev. William Richards at Lahaina and in the latter year fired several cannon shots at his house. In January, 1826, the crew of the United States ship-of-war *Dolphin*, commanded by Lieutenant John Percival, attacked the house of Kalanimoku and the mission premises at Honolulu. The chiefs stuck to their position, in spite of all this violence, and in December, 1827, the king published a series of written laws even more stringent than the earlier ones.

The end of Boki. After his return from England in 1825 Boki resumed his place as governor of Oahu and was appointed personal guardian of the young king. In 1827 his brother Kalanimoku died. Boki seems to have had an ambition to succeed Kalanimoku as prime minister. He was also jealous of Kaahumanu and her power, and, since Kaahumanu favored the missionaries, Boki favored those who were opposed to the missionaries. This led him into bad company and he fell into habits of dissipation and extravagance and tried to influence the king in the same direction. He even aimed to overthrow Kaahumanu and take her place as regent of the kingdom. About the beginning of 1829 Boki gathered a large number of followers about him at Waikiki and seemed determined to start a revolt. But he was finally persuaded to abandon his plans. He had gotten badly into debt, however, and this caused him much trouble.

Toward the end of the year 1829 a ship from Australia brought to Honolulu a report of an island in the South Pacific said to be rich in sandalwood. Boki looked upon this as an opportunity to get out of debt. So he fitted out two vessels, the *Kamehameha* and the *Becket*, took on board nearly five hundred of his followers, and on December 2, 1829, sailed from Honolulu in search of the sandalwood island. Eight months later the *Becket*, with twenty survivors, returned from the south. The *Kamehameha* never

came back and is supposed to have been lost at sea with Boki and the greater part of his followers. Disease and hunger destroyed most of those who had gone on the *Becket*.

The passing of Kaahumanu. During these troubled years the regent, Kaahumanu, was at the head of the government. She was a powerful supporter of the missionaries and gave encouragement to every effort for the education and civilization of the people. But in June, 1832, Kaahumanu died at her home in Manoa Valley, near Honolulu. Kinau succeeded her as *kuhina nui*, with the title of Kaahumanu II. Up to this time conditions had been surely though slowly improving, in spite of the course of Boki and a few other chiefs and the bad conduct of many of the foreigners. Kinau did what she could to continue the policy of her predecessor but she did not have the commanding ability or the political strength of Kaahumanu. A reaction set in and for a year or two conditions were worse than ever. The young king fell more and more under the influence of those who were opposed to the American missionaries.

In the spring of 1833 the king, who was then in his twentieth year, announced that he was of age and intended to take charge of the government himself. Many people thought that he would remove Kinau and appoint someone in her place from the anti-missionary party, but instead of that he confirmed Kinau as kuhina nui. After 1833 conditions gradually improved.

The great revival. The Mission felt the effect of all these changes. While Kaahumanu lived, her powerful influence was a great help, but after her death the missionaries found their work much more difficult. During the years of the reaction the church congregations dwindled away, the increase of members was retarded, and many of the schools were deserted. But this was only a temporary loss. Between 1825 and 1840 six companies of new workers came from America to reinforce the Mission. New stations were established on all the islands, and the work of preaching and teaching was vigorously carried on. This ener-

getic effort produced an abundant harvest. Statistics show that in the first seventeen years of the Mission only 1,259 persons were admitted into the Protestant church in the Hawaiian islands; but during the next three years (1838–1840) more than 20,000 were admitted. This rapid increase was the result of a great religious revival which swept over the islands during those years.

Progress of education. The missionaries started schools within a little while after their arrival and it was not long before these schools became very popular. As the brighter pupils learned to read, they were sent to open schools in the neighboring country districts. One of the missionaries has given an interesting account of the way in which these schools spread throughout the islands.

"A young man named Moo, pipe-lighter to Hoapili, was regarded as rather a bright scholar; Hoapili sent him to Hawaii to be a teacher for the district of Puna. . . . He took a central post and collected a school. As soon as his scholars had made a little proficiency, he sent out the best of them, to the right hand and to the left, to be teachers of other schools; and he continued this course till every village of Puna was furnished with a teacher. A process something after this sort was simultaneously going on from Hawaii to Kauai."

As early as 1826 there were four hundred native teachers, and ten years after the coming of the missionaries it was estimated that one third of the entire population was enrolled in the schools. Most of the pupils learned to read, part of them learned to write, and a few learned the first principles of arithmetic. One strange thing about these early schools was the fact that all but a very few of the pupils were grown people. In 1829 on the island of Oahu only about one tenth of the pupils were children. The teachers had to give so much time to the grown people who wished to learn the *palapala* that they could give very little attention to children. Parents did not want their children to go to school until they themselves had learned to read. The children, too,

were wild and restless and did not like to go to school any more than children do nowadays.

This first school system reached its greatest development about 1832. By that time most of the people who were interested had gotten all the knowledge the native teachers could give them. It will be remembered also that it was about 1833 that the general reaction against the missionaries became most severe. The schools therefore began to dwindle away. They were not all given up, but many of the schoolhouses were abandoned entirely and fell into decay.

16

He popoki huhu. He ilio hae.

E na pokii; e akahai; e akahele; mai hailiili; mai kuamuamu; mai hakaka me ka inaina; mai nuku aku kekahi i kekahi; e waiho i na hua hilahila.

Mai huhu hala ole aku ia hai. Ua huhu hala ole o Kaina i kona kaikaina ia Abela, a pepehi iho la ia ia.

Mai hoomaewaewa iki aku. Ua hoomaewaewa kekahi poe kamalii i ke kaula maikai ia Elisai, a ua make lakou i na holoholona hihiu hae; kanahakumamalua ka i make.

I mai la Iesu, Ua hoopuni mai na ilio ia'u, ua o mai lakou i ko'u mau lima, a me ko'u mau wawae.

A page from the first book printed for children in the Hawaiian language

But before this time the missionaries had begun to develop a better system of education. In the first place, from about 1828 they began to make a special effort to bring the children into the schools. Classes for children were organized at the various mission stations. A first book for children was published in December, 1829, and a copy given to each boy and girl who came to school. The missionaries tried to interest the chiefs and the parents in the education of the young,

and in 1835 Governor Hoapili of Maui proclaimed a law requiring all children over four years of age to attend school.

In the second place, the missionaries themselves gave more time to the work of education. At all of the mission stations classes were organized for the purpose of training better teachers for the common schools. A number of teachers were sent out from the United States by the American Board to have charge of this branch of missionary work.

In the third place, a high school and several boarding schools were established for the purpose of giving more thorough training to boys and girls who gave particular promise of future usefulness. The first and most important of these was the high school or seminary for boys at Lahainaluna, Maui. This school was begun in September, 1831, with Rev. Lorrin Andrews as principal. There was a hard struggle to get it firmly established; but in a few years substantial buildings and good equipment were provided, and several more missionaries were assigned to the school as instructors. In 1839 the faculty of the school included three missionaries, a missionary teacher, and a printer. In that year there were about sixty students. This school was expected to be the "grand nursery of education in the islands," and its history has in large measure justified the expectation.

A boarding school for boys was started at Hilo in 1836 by Rev. David B. Lyman. At this place much attention was given to manual training and agriculture. One of the principal objects of the Hilo boarding school was to fit boys for the high school at Lahainaluna. In 1838 Mrs. Titus Coan opened a boarding school for girls at Hilo, which continued for about eight years. The most important school for girls was the Central Female Boarding Seminary at Wailuku, Maui. This was begun in 1837 under the direction of Rev. J. S. Green. One of its purposes was to bring up a class of young women who would be proper helpmeets for the young men who were being educated at Lahainaluna and who would set a good example in the making of Christian homes.

By 1840, therefore, the missionaries had developed a school system which included three kinds of schools: (1) the boarding schools which have just been mentioned; (2) schools at the mission stations, in part for the training of teachers, and in part for the education of children; (3) common schools, scattered throughout the islands and taught by native teachers. Between 1835 and 1840 there was a great improvement in the common schools. Better teachers were provided from among the graduates of Lahainaluna and from those trained in the station schools. Better schoolhouses were built in many places. A better course of study was introduced, including reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and sacred history. In 1840 there were about 15,000 pupils in the schools and most of these were children.

Three other important schools, of a special character, were begun during this period. One was a school at Honolulu for the education of the young chiefs, in charge of Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Cooke, whose services were given by the Mission at the request of the older chiefs. It was a family school with about a dozen pupils. Mr. and Mrs. Cooke began their work as teachers of the young chiefs in 1839 and in the spring of 1840 the school was installed in a new house built for the purpose. Among the pupils were four boys and one girl who afterwards became rulers of the kingdom. In later years other children were admitted and the school came to be called the Royal School. Under that name it still exists.

The Oahu Charity School was opened at Honolulu in January, 1833, for the education of the children of foreign residents who had married native women. Money for its support and for the building of a schoolhouse was raised by subscription from the white residents and from officers of ships. Among the trustees first elected were the American and British consuls and several well-known merchants. The first teacher was Mr. Andrew Johnstone, one of the American missionaries. For several years this was the only school in the islands for English-speaking

children. Pupils were sent to it from Spanish California, from Kamchatka, in East Russia, Asia, and from some of the islands of the Pacific. In after years, by successive changes, it became the present Pohukaina School in Honolulu.

The Oahu Charity School

In 1841, after several years' discussion, the missionaries voted to establish a school at Punahou, near Honolulu, for the education of their children, and the Rev. Daniel Dole was appointed the first principal. The school was opened in 1842 in a building with adobe walls and thatched roof. Such was the humble beginning

of one of Hawaii's most important schools. Within a few years other children were admitted besides those of the missionaries. In 1849 the school received a charter from the government and in 1853 a second charter, which gave it the title of Oahu College by which it was known for many years. Recently the school has resumed the earlier name of Punahou School.

Legal and constitutional development. During the reign of Kamehameha I his word was supreme and he made such laws as he saw fit. The best known of his laws was the *Mamalahoe Kanawai*. During the reign of Kamehameha II and the early years of Kamehameha III the council of chiefs became more important; new laws were generally talked over and passed by them and then approved by the king and the *kuhina nui*.

Before the coming of the printing press to Hawaii, laws were published by word of mouth by heralds officially appointed for that purpose. Even after the introduction of printing the oral method was still used to some extent. Thus, in 1824, Kaahumanu proclaimed a series of laws in that way at Lahaina. They forbade murder, theft, boxing or fighting, desecration of the Sabbath by work or play, and added that "when schools are established, all the people shall learn the palapala." The first printed law was published in March, 1822, and related to disturbances created by sailors and other foreigners. In 1825 another law was printed containing regulations for the port of Honolulu, and in 1827 the king had a set of laws printed against various crimes. From this time on most of the laws were printed, and they were also revised and improved from time to time.

Before the coming of the foreigners, the laws were few and simple, since the life of the people was not very complicated. But after traders began to visit the islands in large numbers, and particularly after foreigners came to live in Hawaii, the king and chiefs saw that it was necessary to have laws to regulate the new conditions created by the *haoles*. Some of the foreigners objected to the laws that were passed; some even declared that they did

not have to obey them and that the king and chiefs had no right to apply their laws to foreigners. These people caused much trouble for many years. Between 1830 and 1840 it began to look as though the very independence of the Hawaiian kingdom depended on getting a satisfactory adjustment of the relations between the natives (the Hawaiian government and people) and the foreigners. Even the better class of foreigners sometimes felt that the Hawaiian government was rather unsystematic and arbitrary.

The king and chiefs wanted to do what was right, but they did not have knowledge and experience enough to know what was the best way in which to deal with these new conditions. They tried to find out how foreign governments managed their affairs and how a civilized government should be organized. They received a great deal of good advice (and some bad) from the captains of foreign warships and from travelers and traders. In 1836 they wrote a letter to the Missionary Board in the United States asking for a teacher to instruct them in matters of government. Finally, in 1838, they invited Rev. William Richards to become their teacher and interpreter. Mr. Richards resigned from the Mission and accepted the invitation. He began his new duties by delivering a series of lectures to the chiefs on the science of government. From that time until his death in 1847 Mr. Richards labored unceasingly in the interest of the Hawaiian people and their rulers. His work and his influence were of very great importance during this critical period of Hawaiian history.

In 1839 the king and chiefs took a long step forward by adopting a declaration of rights and a set of laws on the subject of property and taxation. In this document they declared that "in making laws for a nation it is by no means proper to enact laws for the protection of rulers only, without also providing protection for their subjects; neither is it proper to enact laws to enrich the chiefs only, without regard to the enriching of their subjects also. . . . Protection is hereby secured to the persons

of all the people, together with their lands, their building lots, and all their property, and nothing whatever shall be taken from any individual, except by express provision of the laws. Whatever chief shall perseveringly act in violation of this constitution shall no longer remain a chief of the Sandwich Islands, and the same shall be true of the governors, officers, and all land agents."

Before this time the common people had practically no rights, and the land which they occupied, their property, and their labor were all subject to the arbitrary will of the chiefs.

On October 8, 1840, the native rulers promulgated a formal constitution, in which the declaration of rights, or constitution, of 1839 was included. By the constitution of 1840 the king voluntarily gave up part of the absolute power which he had previously possessed. It provided that the executive authority should be in the hands of the king, the premier (kuhina nui), and the four governors who were really agents of the king. The legislative power was vested in the council of chiefs (commonly called the House of Nobles), of which the king and premier were members, and in certain representatives chosen by the people. At first very few representatives were elected by the people; elective representation was a new idea and it took a long time for the people to get used to it. The legislative body met annually, the two houses sitting separately or together, as they saw fit. New laws had to be passed by both houses of the legislature and approved by the king and premier. A supreme court was provided, to consist of the king, premier, and four other judges chosen by the representative body. Inferior judges were appointed by the governors.

Growth of commerce. Between 1820 and 1840 there was a remarkable development of trade and commerce on the Hawaiian islands. In 1820 the sandalwood trade was the principal business of the Sandwich islands, but that died out in the course of the next ten or fifteen years. Probably the most important cause of development was the coming of the whalers. About 1820

a valuable sperm whale fishery was discovered off the coast of Japan, and within a year or two large numbers of whalers went there from the United States and some also from England and other countries. At that time Japan was closed to foreigners and Hawaii was the most convenient place for whalers to rest and get supplies between seasons. By 1840 the business of the islands was mainly with the whaleships. During this period from fifty to a hundred of these ships visited the ports of the Hawaiian islands each year.

In the beginning about the only things purchased by the whalers were fresh meat, vegetables, wood, and water. After a while stores were opened to supply other things which were needed, such as flour, clothing, hardware, sailcloth, and many other articles. A shipyard was established for doing necessary repair work. Hence a large number of foreign traders, carpenters, and mechanics were added to the population.

During this period also a considerable trade sprang up between these islands and the coast of America. Records show that large cargoes of goods were brought in merchant ships from America, Europe, and China. Part of these goods were sold to the whalers, part to the people residing on the islands, and part reëxported to California, Oregon, the Russian settlements, and other islands in the Pacific. Some goods were also brought in from the latter places, part being consumed locally and part reëxported to the United States, Europe, and China. Several business houses were established in Honolulu for carrying on these commercial operations.

Another evidence of advancing civilization was the attention paid to the development of the natural resources of the islands in spite of many discouraging conditions. The cattle and goats left by early navigators had multiplied to such an extent that hides and goat skins were important articles of export. The first successful sugar plantation was started before 1840, and well-directed efforts were being made to produce silk and coffee.

During the first eight months of 1840 the values of exports of Hawaiian products were as follows: goat skins, $10,000; other hides, $18,500; salt, $2,225; tobacco, $300; sugar, $18,000; syrup and molasses, $7,300; kukui oil, $500; arrowroot, $1,700; supplies for ships, $16,500.

Honolulu in 1820 and 1840. The development of the islands during this period is well illustrated in the growth and improvement of Honolulu. From such accounts as we have it is clear

From a contemporary sketch.

A street view at Honolulu in 1840

that in 1820 this town was only an irregular cluster of grass houses, close to the harbor, with perhaps a half dozen buildings of wood or stone in the European style, and three or four stores. The whole population numbered about 3,000 or 4,000.

By 1840 the population had doubled and there were about 600 foreign residents. There were many substantial buildings of wood, stone, or adobe, and great improvement was shown even in the grass houses. The town had spread out toward Waikiki as far as the Mission, and a few country residences were beginning to appear in the Nuuanu and Punahou districts. A system of broad streets had been laid out, and some improvements had been made along the water front. A newspaper in the English language, the *Sandwich Island Gazette*, had been published for

three years (1836–1839), and in June, 1840, the *Polynesian* made its appearance. In October, 1840, the editor of the *Polynesian* published an article on "Improvements and Changes in and about Honolulu," in which he said:

"The past twelve months have been full of activity. Streets have been widened, straightened, and opened, houses and stores built, others demolished, public works commenced, and everything now wears the appearance of progressive improvement. . . . A spirit of enterprise seems to be awakened both among foreigners and Hawaiians, which, we surmise, is the result of a general prosperity. . . . The broad avenues which now intersect the town will become eventually fine streets. . . . Carriages, curricles, etc., are becoming quite common, and add to the liveliness of the place. . . . Native women are beginning to inquire with eager interest for the *patena hou* (new fashions) and the more substantial articles of civilization are in increased demand."

The editor gives a long list of the stores, public buildings, trades, and professions, which includes four churches, seven schools, a library and reading room, two hospitals for seamen, a government building, consulates of France, England, and the United States, four wholesale and twenty retail stores, two hotels, two taverns, twelve grogshops, two billiard rooms, seven bowling alleys, and all the various kinds of tradesmen, artisans, and mechanics that would be found in an ordinary American town.

Questions and Exercises

1. Until the reign of Liholiho the Hawaiians had never had any written laws. Why did they begin at this time to print their laws? Why were new laws needed?

2. During the time from 1820 to 1840 the Hawaiian Islands were changing from one civilization to another. Such a period is always difficult for a people. Name some of the conditions which showed what difficulties the Hawaiians were experiencing at this time.

3. What country to-day is struggling between two civilizations? Find proofs in the newspapers of the difficulties this country is experiencing.

4. When one people takes on the civilization of another people, there is always a struggle, as you have seen. Here in Hawaii we have many nationalities trying to take on the American civilization. List in your notebook *four* of the difficulties they have to meet.

5. Enter in your notebook the names of *four* of the famous schools of Hawaii which were established at this time.

6. Compulsory school age in 1840 was —— years; to-day it is —— years. (Copy in your notebook, filling in the blanks.)

7. Here is a list of reasons for which schools might be organized:

a. To teach children to write.
b. To teach children to sing.
c. To teach children patriotism.
d. To teach the things which will make good citizens.
e. To teach children to read.
f. To teach the things that are necessary so that people can earn a living.

Enter the above list in your notebook and put a minus sign before the reason for which the Hawaiian schools were organized in 1840. Put a plus sign before the reason you consider the best. Explain the reason for your choice.

For Further Reading

Alexander, W. D. — "The Oahu Charity School," in *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society.*

Frear, W. F. — "Hawaiian Statute Law," in *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society.*

Westervelt, W. D. — "The First Twenty Years of Education in the Hawaiian Islands," in *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society.*

XIII

THE CATHOLIC MISSION

Origin of the mission. The plan to found a Catholic mission in the Hawaiian islands was formed as a result of the activities of the Frenchman, John Rives, the friend and secretary of King Liholiho, who had gone with the king's party to England in 1823. While in England Rives was dismissed from the party and soon made his way to France in order to visit his family. "After having visited his family, Mr. Rives entered into negotiations with both the French government and private parties for the establishment of a French settlement" in Hawaii on land which he claimed to own. He made extravagant promises about what he would do on his return to Hawaii. As a result of these efforts two ships were fitted out: one, *La Comète*, at Bordeaux, under the auspices of the French government; the other, *Le Héros*, at Havre, by a company of French capitalists.

Rives also applied to the Seminary for Foreign Missions at Paris for missionaries to be sent to Hawaii. This request was transmitted to Rome, where it met with a favorable reception. A religious order recently organized in France, called *The Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary*, was authorized by the Pope to establish a Catholic mission in the Hawaiian islands. From this congregation the following missionaries were appointed: Father Alexis Bachelot, as head of the mission with the title of Apostolic Prefect; Fathers Abraham Armand and Patrick Short; and three lay brothers, Theodore Boissier, Melchior Bondu, and Leonore Portal. The missionary party sailed from Bordeaux, November 20, 1826, in the ship *La Comète*,

accompanied by several mechanics under the leadership of a French lawyer, who was unofficially instructed by the government " to establish missionaries and French mechanics in the Sandwich Islands." They arrived at Honolulu, July 7, 1827.

The Reverend Alexis Bachelot

Rives sailed from Havre in April, 1826, in the ship *Le Héros*. It was intended that this vessel should spend some time trading along the coast of California and Mexico and then go on to Hawaii, where Rives said he would get things ready for the missionaries and the mechanics who were to form the nucleus of a French settlement. But Rives did not return to Hawaii and his failure to carry out his promises was a source of trouble to all who were involved in his schemes. He never had possessed as much land or as much influence in the government as he claimed to have, and what he did have was dependent on the favor of King Liholiho. Kaahumanu was unfriendly to him, and she was now in control of the Hawaiian government.

Establishment at Honolulu. The Catholic missionaries landed from *La Comète* without having obtained a formal permit and

rented a small inclosure containing three grass huts. Kaahumanu ordered the captain of the ship to take the priests away, but he refused to do so and sailed before they could be put on board. About the end of August the French lawyer who came with the party obtained a piece of land from the king for the use of the lay brothers, and the mission establishment was moved to this site. In January, 1828, a chapel was opened to the public. Up to the end of that year five adults and twelve children were baptized, and during 1829, sixty-five adults and seventeen children.

Persecution of the Catholics. For the first two years the Catholics were not disturbed. Boki and his followers were friendly to them and so long as he was governor of Oahu he was able to help them in many ways. Some of the foreigners favored them in the hope of hurting the Protestant missionaries. The latter used their influence to prevent the spread of Catholic doctrines. When Kaahumanu and the other chiefs who had accepted Christianity as taught by the Protestants saw that the new missionaries were meeting with some success, they tried to stop the Catholic mission's further progress. In August, 1829, a proclamation was issued prohibiting the natives from attending the Catholic services. The priests were told that they might teach their doctrines to foreigners, but not to the natives.

In spite of these prohibitions many of the natives continued to go to the Catholic chapel. Some of them were punished. They were confined in prison, put at the hard labor of building stone walls, or required to spend many days in weaving mats. A few were compelled to do the work of scavengers in the fort. This persecution of the native Catholics continued at intervals with greater or less severity for about eight years, but it failed to accomplish the desired result.

Expulsion of the priests. When the chiefs saw that the punishment of native Catholics did not make them give up their religious beliefs, they decided to expel the priests from the country.

At the beginning of April, 1831, Fathers Bachelot and Short were called before the chiefs and told to leave the kingdom within the space of three months. But they gave no sign of going. Several months passed by. When the priests were reminded of the order to depart, they declared that they had no way to go and no money with which to pay their passage. Finally the government fitted out the brig *Waverley* and in this ship the two priests were compelled to leave the islands. They sailed from Honolulu December 24, 1831, and were landed on the coast of California not far from Los Angeles. With their departure only one person, the lay brother Melchior, was left to look out for the Catholics in the islands.

The second attempt. Brother Melchior kept his superiors informed of what was going on. When the king took personal control of the government in 1833, the Catholics decided to make another attempt. A lay brother, Colomban Murphy, visited Honolulu in 1835 to study the situation, and the following year there arrived a priest, Father Walsh, who was a British subject. He was ordered to leave. But about that time a French warship, *La Bonite*, came to Honolulu, and through the efforts of the French commander the chiefs gave permission for Father Walsh to remain and to teach foreigners, but not natives.

Just as *La Bonite* was leaving, the British warship *Acteon* arrived. The commander of this vessel, Lord Edward Russell, negotiated a treaty between the Hawaiian government and Great Britain, which was signed November 16, 1836. This treaty gave British subjects the right to trade, to reside, and to build houses and warehouses in Hawaii " with the consent of the king." An effort was made to gain permission for Father Walsh to teach and to baptize native Hawaiians, but without success. Nevertheless, in the course of the next few years, he did teach and baptize a few of the natives.

Return of Bachelot and Short. During their stay in California Fathers Bachelot and Short did not give up the idea of returning

to Hawaii. In this purpose they were encouraged by a letter from the Pope and by reports which they received from the islands. Finally they obtained passage on the ship *Clementine* and arrived at Honolulu April 17, 1837. The king and the kuhina nui, Kinau, were at Lahaina. In their absence Governor Kekuanaoa at first ordered the two priests to go back on board the ship, but later gave permission for them to remain on shore until the return of the king and Kinau. On April 30 the kuhina nui arrived at Honolulu with a decree from the king confirming the banishment of Bachelot and Short and ordering them to go away on the same vessel on which they came.

Now it happened that the *Clementine* was owned by Jules Dudoit, a Frenchman of Honolulu, but was sailing under the British flag. She had been under charter to an American merchant named Hinckley, but after her arrival at Honolulu the cargo was unloaded and the ship returned to her owner. Dudoit, therefore, was not responsible for bringing the priests to Honolulu and he declared that he would not take them back on the *Clementine* unless they came of their own free will and unless their passage was paid for. The chiefs declared that since the *Clementine* brought them to the islands the same vessel should take them away again. A hot discussion followed in which the British and American consuls took the part of the priests and of Dudoit.

At last the two priests were compelled to go on board the *Clementine*. Thereupon Dudoit hauled down the British flag and left the ship. The flag was turned over to the British consul, Richard Charlton, who publicly burned it in the street, declaring that it had been violated by the Hawaiian government. This was in May, 1837. Early in July the British warship *Sulphur*, commanded by Captain Edward Belcher, and the French warship *Venus*, commanded by Captain Du Petit-Thouars, arrived at Honolulu. These two commanders were drawn into the controversy. After an angry interview with Kinau, Captain Belcher sent a company of marines to bring the two priests ashore. He

and Captain Du Petit-Thouars then escorted them to their former residence.

A few days after this the king arrived from Lahaina and held a long conference with the two captains. The king refused to change his decision and Captain Belcher, recognizing the rights of the Hawaiian government, signed a pledge that Mr. Short would leave the islands at the first opportunity. Captain Du Petit-Thouars signed a similar pledge for Mr. Bachelot. A few days later the king and the French captain signed an agreement which gave to French subjects all rights that were enjoyed by subjects of any other nation in the Hawaiian islands. Father Short sailed for Valparaiso at the end of October.

Du Petit-Thouars

Arrival of two more priests. Before hearing the result of the second attempt of Fathers Bachelot and Short to enter the Hawaiian islands, the Catholic Bishop of Eastern Oceania sent two other priests to try to obtain a residence there. These were Rev. L. D. Maigret and Rev. Colomban Murphy. They arrived at Honolulu November 2, 1837, but were immediately forbidden to land. Father Murphy had only recently been ordained and the fact that he was a priest was kept secret. The British consul stated to Kinau that Mr. Murphy was not a priest and he was therefore permitted to take up his residence on shore, but the

government absolutely refused to allow Father Maigret to remain at the islands.

In view of this fact, and since Father Bachelot was still at Honolulu waiting for a ship, the priests decided to buy a schooner that Mr. Dudoit offered to sell them. On this ship, which they renamed *Our Lady of Peace*, Fathers Maigret and Bachelot sailed from Honolulu, November 23. The latter was in poor health at the time, and died at sea on the morning of December 5. He was buried on the small island of Na, off the coast of Ponape in the Caroline Islands.

End of the Catholic troubles. Shortly after the departure of the two priests King Kamehameha III proclaimed a law which absolutely forbade the teaching or practice of Catholic doctrines and prohibited teachers of that form of religion from entering the Hawaiian kingdom. A vigorous effort was made to enforce this law and the persecution of the native Catholics was renewed. As a result a large company of them left Honolulu and went to the district of Waianae, where the local chief was friendly to them. But they were not allowed to remain there permanently.

In spite of the new law various influences were at work to put an end to the prohibition against Catholicism. Among these influences were the advice of foreign officers who visited the islands, the instruction given by Mr. Richards who had been appointed adviser to the Hawaiian government, the death of Kinau which occurred in April, 1839, and the fear of reprisals by the French government. As a result of these influences the king, in June, 1839, issued an edict of toleration ordering that punishment should no longer be inflicted on Catholics. This edict and the visit of the French warship, *Artemise*, in the following month mark the end of the official effort to keep Catholicism out of Hawaii.

Reasons for objection to Catholics. At the present time it may seem strange that there should have been so much objection to the introduction of Catholicism into Hawaii and such a deter-

mined effort to keep out the priests of that faith. We have to remember that even as late as a hundred years ago there was much controversy between Protestants and Catholics. We must also remember that in Hawaii before this time there had never been more than one form of religion recognized. Before the abolition of the tapus the government of the islands and the religious system were closely connected. After the coming of the American missionaries in 1820 the Protestant form of Christianity was accepted by the Hawaiian chiefs and became almost a state religion, though there was never any official connection between it and the government.

The Hawaiian king and chiefs explained their opposition to the Catholics by saying that it was not good to have two religions in Hawaii, because that would create a division and lead to much trouble. They also said that the Catholic ceremonies were like the idolatry that was abolished in 1819. They declared, too, that the Catholic missionaries came into the islands without the permission of the government and therefore had no right to remain. Catholic writers say that the real source of the opposition is to be found in the teachings of the Protestant missionaries. To a certain extent this is undoubtedly true. But it was the chiefs who applied these teachings to the conditions existing among their own people. There is evidence to show that the Protestant missionaries did not approve of the persecution of native Catholics.

Looking back from the present time it is hard to see how the trouble could have been avoided. Nevertheless, we cannot doubt that both the Catholic and the Protestant missionaries and the Hawaiian chiefs were sincere in their beliefs and were trying to perform their duty as they understood it.

Questions and Exercises

Following is a list of words, each of which represents a feeling you might have toward people whose religion is different from yours. If

you do not know all these words, look them up and talk over the meanings in class. The words are *indifference, coöperation, tolerance, hostility, hatred, persecution.*

1. Which of these words represents the most desirable attitude?
2. Which represents the most undesirable attitude?

In your notebook put your answer to question 1 at the top of the list, and your answer to question 2 at the bottom of the list. Then fill in all the other blanks in the order you think they should be arranged.

———————— (The answer to question 1)
———————— (The next best attitude)
———————— (The third best attitude)
———————— (The fourth best attitude)
———————— (The next to the worst)
———————— (The answer to question 2)

3. Which of these words best describes the general feeling in Hawaii at the time described in this chapter?
4. Which best describes the general feeling in Hawaii to-day?
5. If we wish Hawaii to go to the top of the list above, how can this be brought about?

XIV

RECOGNITION OF INDEPENDENCE

Policy of France. As a result of the way in which the Hawaiian government treated the Catholics, it became involved in trouble with France. That nation took the position of defender of Catholic missionaries throughout the Pacific Ocean. During this period she was also trying to extend her commercial interests in this part of the world and to build up a colonial empire. The situation in the Society Islands (Tahiti) was very much like the situation in Hawaii, the principal difference being that the Protestant missionaries at Tahiti were sent out from England. In both places French Catholic priests were expelled by the native rulers. At Tahiti this occurred in December, 1836, and in January, 1837. One of the priests then went to France and Rome to lay the matter before the French government and the Pope. Letters were also sent to France from the American consul at Tahiti, who was hostile to the English Protestant missionaries. As a result of these letters, Captain Du Petit-Thouars of the frigate *Venus*, while at Valparaiso in the summer of 1838, received orders from the French government "to go to Tahiti, and demand from the queen complete reparation for the insult offered to France." Captain Du Petit-Thouars carried out these orders in the fall of 1838. He also established three French Catholic missionaries on the Marquesas Islands.

Visit of the *Artemise*. Reports were likewise sent to France about what was going on at the Hawaiian islands. At this time the French frigate *Artemise*, under command of Captain Laplace, was making a voyage around the world in the interest

of French commerce. While at Sydney early in 1839 Captain Laplace received instructions from his government to visit the Polynesian islands and demand satisfaction for the treatment which the French priests had received. At Tahiti Laplace compelled Queen Pomare to sign a treaty giving the most complete freedom and protection to the Catholic faith.

The *Artemise* arrived at Honolulu, July 9, 1839. Captain Laplace had an interview with the French consul, Dudoit, and, without making any other investigation, sent to the king a "manifesto," in which he accused the chiefs of having violated the treaty made with Captain Du Petit-Thouars, saying that "to persecute the Catholic religion, to tarnish it with the name of idolatry, and to expel under this absurd pretext the French from this archipelago was to offer an insult to France." Laplace demanded that the king sign a treaty containing the following conditions: (1) That the Catholic worship be declared free in the Hawaiian islands; (2) that land be given for a Catholic church at Honolulu, to be served by French priests; (3) that the persecution of native Catholics cease; (4) that twenty thousand dollars be deposited with Captain Laplace as a guarantee of future good conduct, to be returned when France became satisfied that the Hawaiian government would observe the treaty; (5) that the money and the treaty, signed by the king, should be taken on board the *Artemise* by a high chief, and the French flag saluted with twenty-one guns. The captain added that if these conditions were not immediately agreed to, war would commence.

When Captain Laplace made these demands, the king was at Lahaina. In his absence the treaty was signed by the kuhina nui and the governor of Oahu. The twenty thousand dollars were borrowed from the foreign merchants of Honolulu, and all the conditions were complied with. When the king arrived a day or two later he approved what had been done by the chiefs in order to save his country from the horrors of war.

But the French captain was not yet satisfied. He had still another treaty which the king was also induced to sign. This was a general treaty of friendship and commerce. Two of its articles were very objectionable. One of them gave to Frenchmen accused of crime in the Hawaiian islands the right to be tried by a jury of foreigners named by the French consul. The other provided that French merchandise, "especially wines and brandies, shall not be prohibited, nor pay a higher duty than five per cent ad valorem." In 1838 a law had been passed prohibiting the importation of spirituous liquors, such as brandy and gin, after January 1, 1839, and laying a duty of fifty cents a gallon on imported wines. The treaty therefore practically repealed this prohibition law.

Visit of the *Embuscade*. Within a year after the departure of the *Artemise*, a Catholic bishop and several priests arrived at Honolulu to establish their mission on a permanent basis. A church was built and the efforts of the missionaries met with considerable success. Schools were begun as rapidly as teachers could be provided for them. As might have been expected, a good many small difficulties arose, particularly over the interpretation and enforcement of the school and marriage laws. Unfortunately, the French consul advised the Catholics to look to France for the enforcement of their views, and to present their claims to him instead of to the Hawaiian government. His object may have been to stir up trouble, so that France would have an excuse for seizing the islands. Some of the Catholics followed his advice, with the result that the Hawaiian government did not hear their complaints and had no opportunity to examine and correct the evils, if any existed.

In July, 1842, a French squadron took possession of the Marquesas Islands and the commander, Admiral Du Petit-Thouars, sent the ship *Embuscade* to investigate affairs at Hawaii. A few days after the arrival of this ship at Honolulu the captain, Mallet, sent a letter to the king charging that the treaty made with

Captain Laplace had been violated, and presenting a series of demands designed to secure special privileges for the Catholics in regard to schools and marriage. In reply the king denied that the treaty had been violated; he declared that the existing laws were impartial and that the courts were open to all and would deal justly with all. He added that he had sent ministers to France to try to make a new treaty. Without pressing his demands further Captain Mallet took his departure, promising to deliver the king's letter to Admiral Du Petit-Thouars.

Movement to secure recognition of independence. During these years the question was frequently asked: Will the Hawaiian islands continue to be independent? Some people thought they would fall into the hands of France, as the Marquesas Islands had already done and as Tahiti did soon after. But other influences were at work with the object of throwing Hawaii into the possession of Great Britain. The British consul, Richard Charlton, desired to bring about that result. He was constantly making complaints and trying to get his government to interfere in Hawaiian affairs. In 1840 he set up a claim for a valuable piece of land in Honolulu, based on a long lease which he said Kalanimoku had given him. It is now believed that the lease was fraudulent, but this claim was a source of trouble for several years. Under all these circumstances it seemed very important to the king and his advisers to obtain an acknowledgment and guarantee of the independence of the Hawaiian islands from the great powers, the United States, England, and France. Another reason for seeking this recognition was the fact that several proposals were made about this time for the development of the agricultural resources of the islands by foreign capitalists. This development was believed to be desirable, but could not be carried out while the future condition of the government was so uncertain.

As early as 1840 an effort was made to secure the desired recognition through the services of an American lawyer named

Thomas J. Farnham, who visited the islands in that year; but he undertook very little and failed to accomplish anything. In the spring of 1842 Sir George Simpson, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company in North America, visited Hawaii on a tour around the world. He became greatly interested and took the part of the king against the charges made by Charlton and others. Sir George advised Kamehameha to send ambassadors to the United States, England, and France, and offered to be one of them

Timothy Haalilio, and William Richards

himself, if that was desired. The king followed this advice and on April 8, 1842, appointed his own secretary, Timothy Haalilio, William Richards, and Sir George Simpson as his representatives for the purpose of obtaining, if possible, the recognition and guarantee of the independence of the Hawaiian kingdom by the great powers. They were also to try to make new treaties with those nations, to have new consuls appointed by England and France in place of Mr. Charlton and Mr. Dudoit, and to settle all existing difficulties between those nations and Hawaii.

Before the credentials of these ambassadors were signed, Sir George departed for London by way of Alaska and Siberia. Messrs. Richards and Haalilio left Honolulu early in July, 1842,

for the United States and Europe. They arrived in Washington in the first week of December and immediately set to work on the business of their embassy. After a little delay and not without some difficulty they obtained from Daniel Webster, secretary of state, a letter dated December 19, 1842, in which he declared "as the sense of the government of the United States, that the Government of the Sandwich Islands ought to be respected; that no power ought either to take possession of the islands as a conquest, or for the purpose of colonization, and that no power ought to seek for any undue control over the existing Government, or any exclusive privileges or preferences in matters of commerce." This declaration of the United States government was officially sent by Mr. Webster to the governments of France and Great Britain. Soon after receiving this letter, Messrs. Richards and Haalilio sailed for England.

Sir George Simpson

Cession of the islands to Lord George Paulet. The business of the king's ambassadors was at first kept secret at the islands, but became known in the course of a few months. When this happened, Mr. Charlton at once departed for England in order to present his views to the British government. He left behind

as acting consul a man of his own kind, named Alexander Simpson, whom the king refused to receive as the representative of England. Both Charlton and Simpson complained loudly to the British naval officers on the American coast, alleging that Englishmen and their property were being mistreated in Hawaii. This caused the commander of the British squadron in the Pacific Ocean, Rear Admiral Richard Thomas, to send the frigate *Carysfort* to the islands to make an investigation.

The *Carysfort* arrived at Honolulu, February 10, 1843. A week later her commander, Captain Lord George Paulet, sent to the king a series of demands based on the complaints of Charlton and Simpson and threatened an attack on the town if the demands were not complied with by four o'clock the next afternoon. In view of the circumstances none of these demands was just. But without any adequate means of defense and faced with the guns of the *Carysfort*, the king could do nothing else but yield. But he did this under protest, and at the same time informed Captain Paulet that he had sent ambassadors to England to settle all these questions.

After the king had complied with the demands, Captain Paulet and Mr. Simpson had several private interviews with him, at which they continued to harass him. Finally the King decided to end his worries by temporarily ceding his Kingdom to Great Britain; therefore, on February 25, he signed a provisional cession of the Hawaiian islands to Captain Paulet as representative of the Queen of England, subject to the decision that would be made in London on all questions in dispute. There were reports that a French fleet was on its way to Hawaii; and Paulet, in his official report, says that the fear of this French fleet was what led the King to make the cession.

Government by the British Commission. On the same day Captain Paulet issued a proclamation declaring that the existing laws should remain in force, and providing that the government, so far as the natives were concerned, should be carried on as

before by the king and his chiefs and officers, and so far as foreign residents and foreign relations were concerned, by a commission consisting of the king, or a deputy appointed by him, Captain Paulet, a Mr. D. F. Mackay, and Lieutenant Frêre of the *Carysfort*. The king appointed Dr. Judd as his deputy.

The Commission proceeded to govern the country in a very high-handed manner. The British flag was raised over each island and all Hawaiian flags destroyed. The land claimed by Charlton was seized, the occupants being driven out and the houses torn down. The three government schooners were taken over and their names changed to *Albert*, *Adelaide*, and *Victoria*. The king's right to govern the natives was interfered with, and some desirable laws were abrogated. A regiment of native troops, called the "Queen's Regiment," was enlisted and the Hawaiian treasury compelled to pay for their support. As a protest against the actions of the Commission Dr. Judd resigned on May 10, and after that the king was no longer represented. One of the most interesting circumstances is the fact that Dr. Judd secretly took the government records and concealed them in the royal tomb for fear that the Commission might seize them. In that place he carried on his work as an officer of the king, using the coffin of Kaahumanu as a table.

Mission of J. F. B. Marshall. Captain Paulet appointed Alexander Simpson to carry letters to the British government, and it was arranged that the *Albert* should take him to Mexico. As the result of a previous agreement, an American company in Honolulu had the right to send an agent to Mexico on the *Albert*. It was of great importance to the Hawaiian government that a correct account of recent events should be sent to London. It was therefore arranged that the agent of the American company, J. F. B. Marshall, should be commissioned as the king's ambassador for the purpose of carrying letters to the governments of Great Britain and the United States and coöperating with Sir George Simpson and Messrs. Richards and Haalilio. This

was done secretly, so that Paulet and Simpson knew nothing about it. The *Albert* sailed from Honolulu, March 11, carrying the two messengers, one with letters from Captain Paulet, the other with letters from King Kamehameha.

Restoration by Admiral Thomas. As soon as Admiral Thomas, who was at Valparaiso, learned of the doings of Captain Paulet, he at once sailed for Hawaii on his flagship, the frigate *Dublin*. Upon arrival at Honolulu, the admiral had an interview with the king and it was soon made known that the independence of the islands was to be restored. July 31 was set as the day for the formal act of restoration, and the place selected was the plain east of town at the spot now known as Thomas Square. In the morning a brilliant and impressive ceremony was enacted in the presence of a multitude of natives and foreigners. The British flag was lowered and the Hawaiian flag raised, saluted by the guns of the warships in the harbor and by those of the forts on land. In the afternoon a thanksgiving service was held in the Stone Church (Kawaiahao). It was on this occasion that Kamehameha III uttered the words which have become the motto of Hawaii, *Ua mau ke ea o ka aina i ka pono* (The life of the land is preserved by righteousness).

On the same day the king and the admiral signed some articles of agreement which, in a friendly way, secured to British subjects all the rights and privileges which they could reasonably expect. Admiral Thomas remained at the islands for seven months, residing on shore, until the arrival of General William Miller, the new consul general for Great Britain. The course of Admiral Thomas was fully approved by his government.

Recognition of Hawaiian independence. Messrs. Richards and Haalilio reached London, February 18, 1843. Sir George Simpson had already arrived and the three ambassadors immediately set to work. In their negotiations they received much valuable assistance from the powerful and influential Hudson's Bay Company and from the United States Minister to Great

Britain. The first interview with the Earl of Aberdeen, secretary of state for foreign affairs, was not very favorable, but the Hawaiian ambassadors gave him a statement of their case and then went on to Paris. On March 17 they had an interview with M. Guizot, French minister of foreign affairs, who stated that

The Stone Church (Kawaiahao)

The church was dedicated in 1842. This picture is from a sketch by Reverend Hiram Bingham, printed in 1846. The sketch is inaccurate in some particulars and is supposed to represent the original plan for the building.

he had no objection to acknowledging the independence of Hawaii, but could not at that time promise anything about a new treaty. Back in London a few days later, the three envoys found that M. Guizot's statement had had an important effect on the British officials. On April 1, 1843, Lord Aberdeen wrote an official letter in which he said that the British government was willing and had determined to recognize the independence of the Hawaiian islands under their present king.

Soon after the receipt of Lord Aberdeen's letter, Sir George Simpson took his departure for America and Messrs. Richards and Haalilio returned to Paris in order to get a written recognition of independence from the French government and, if possible, to negotiate a new treaty. But M. Guizot kept putting the matter off, and before anything had been done by him, news reached Europe, about the first of June, that the islands had been ceded to Lord George Paulet. This was a terrible blow to the Hawaiian ambassadors. For the time being their efforts were completely blocked at Paris. Alexander Simpson and J. F. B. Marshall arrived in London about the end of June with their letters from Honolulu. Messrs. Richards and Haalilio therefore returned to London about the middle of July.

The British government had already decided not to keep possession of Hawaii permanently, but there were two things which had to be done: (1) to settle the difficulties raised by Charlton and Simpson; and (2) to get from France a formal, written acknowledgment of Hawaiian independence. These two things required much hard work on the part of the Hawaiian envoys and long negotiation between the French and British governments. France was not willing to give her recognition until England gave up her possession of the islands, and England did not wish to give up the islands until she was sure that France would not take possession of them.

In the course of a few months both of these questions were settled in a satisfactory manner. Messrs. Richards and Haalilio presented a strong defense against the charges of Charlton and Simpson. On the advice of the American Minister in London they agreed to submit all these claims to the legal advisers of the British government. The decision of the legal advisers was in favor of the Hawaiian government on every point except that of Charlton's land claim. This claim was not finally settled for several years.

The governments of France and England at length came to an agreement on the question of Hawaiian independence. On

November 28, 1843, Lord Aberdeen and the French ambassador in London signed a joint declaration to the effect that those governments, "taking into consideration the existence in the Sandwich Islands of a government capable of providing for the regularity of its relations with foreign nations, have thought it right to engage reciprocally to consider the Sandwich Islands as an independent state, and never to take possession, either directly or under the title of a protectorate, or under any other form, of any part of the territory of which they are composed."

The independence of Hawaii was in this way fully recognized, but Messrs. Richards and Haalilio were not able to secure new treaties with France and England. In the spring of 1844 they returned to the United States, and from there sailed in November for the islands. Haalilio died at sea a few days out from Boston. Mr. Richards arrived at Honolulu in March, 1845, after an absence of nearly three years.

Questions and Exercises

1. One day, in a small school, there was enrolled a boy who was bigger and stronger than most of the other children. Soon after he became a member of the class he brought his bat and ball to school, but he did not welcome all the boys when they wanted to play. Instead, he ordered the younger boys about and even hit some of the smaller ones. In a short time he became the "boss" of the playground. The younger children feared him and the older ones felt powerless to do anything to him, because he was always boasting about what he and his "gang" of friends could do.

a. Have you ever had anything like this happen to you?

b. On which side were you, that of the big boy and his gang, or that of the group of pupils who had no defense against the gang?

c. What excuses or reasons can you give which might explain or excuse the action of the big boy and his friends?

d. If you were one of the group who suffered because of the acts of the big boy's group, what reasons would you give to show that the activities of the gang should be stopped or checked?

e. To whom would you go first to get the difficulties remedied? If that was of no avail, to whom would you go next?

f. What are your ideas about how big, strong pupils should act towards those who are not so big and strong?

2. In this chapter the representatives of —— and —— behaved towards the government very much as the big boy behaved toward the smaller ones. The king could not —— because his —— was not equal to that of the —— or —— captains. (Copy in your notebook, filling in the blanks.)

3. What reasons can you give which will explain why these officers acted toward Kamehameha III in this way?

4. Why did the king cede the government to Captain Paulet?

5. How was the request for recognition of the independence of Hawaii received in France, England, and the United States?

6. From your study of European and American history can you think of any cases in which similar instances occurred?

7. Do you know of any occasion on which the United States government has tried to prevent such acts on the part of another government?

8. In the world to-day there are many strong and many weak governments. In the following list choose the statement which best describes what you think the attitude of strong toward weak governments should be. Give reasons for your choice.

a. Attempt to help them by taking possession of them.

b. Attempt to gain power over them.

c. Ignore them.

d. Protect them against other strong governments.

XV

ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

By the action of the United States, Great Britain, and France, Hawaii had been admitted into the family of civilized nations. But in order to get along harmoniously in this new relationship, it was necessary for the Hawaiian government to be organized somewhat in the same way as other civilized governments. The simple system which had been sufficient when the king had only his own people to deal with was not satisfactory when there were many foreigners in the islands and when it was necessary to have many dealings with foreign governments. During the next few years the Hawaiian government was reorganized into a modern constitutional monarchy with the constitution of 1840 as a foundation. The details of this important development were worked out by a small group, including the king and chiefs and other members of the legislature, and Dr. G. P. Judd, John Ricord, and William L. Lee.

The king and chiefs. Foremost were the king and chiefs, for under the old system they had possessed all authority. Under the new system they had to give up many of their old powers and rights, but they were wise enough and patriotic enough to do this willingly when they saw that it was necessary for the good of the nation. Kamehameha III was probably the most beloved of all the Hawaiian monarchs. After his death one who knew him well said of him, "Much of the good which has been accomplished during his reign, much of the evil which has been prevented, and many of the happy changes which have taken place were doubtless brought about through the soundness of his judgment and the

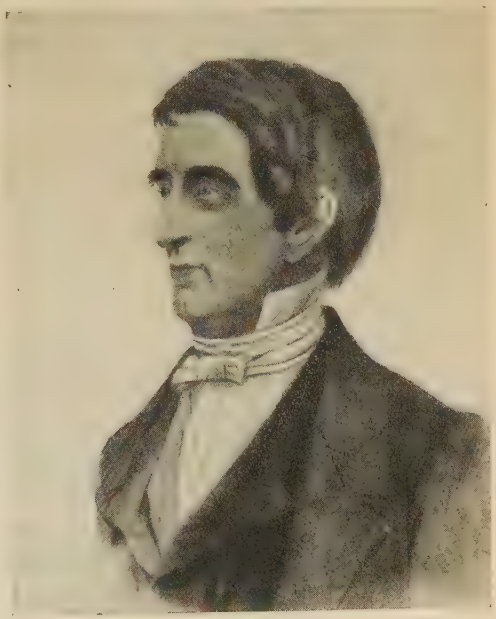
mildness of his character. He was gifted by the god of nature with many of those traits which qualify a person to be a good ruler in trying scenes and in peaceful times. He enjoyed the love of his people and the respect of foreigners."

Kamehameha III as a young man

Dr. G. P. Judd. As a result of the trouble which they had with foreign residents and foreign governments, the king and chiefs saw that it would be good for them to have the advice and assistance of some foreigners whom they could trust. This was the reason for the employment of William Richards. Then when Mr. Richards was appointed as the king's ambassador to the United States, France, and Great Britain, Dr. G. P. Judd was selected to take his place. Dr. Judd had come to Hawaii in 1828 as a medical missionary. Through his work as a physician the native rulers came to know and trust him, while he in turn came to know and love the Hawaiian people. He was a man of energy and firmness of character, who was not afraid to do what he thought was right, even if that made enemies for him. With the exception of the king Dr. Judd was the most influential member of the Hawaiian government during most of the time between 1842 and 1854. One of the ways in which he helped the

king was by securing for him the services of other capable foreigners — such men as John Ricord and Robert C. Wyllie.

The Treasury Board. One of the first and most important things to be done was to get the financial affairs of the kingdom in good order. The government was badly in debt and up to this time no distinction had been made between the property and revenue of the king and that of the government. On the advice of Dr. Judd a Treasury Board was appointed, May 10, 1842, consisting of Dr. G. P. Judd, Timothy Haalilio, and John Ii. The property of the government was separated from the private property of the king and the Treasury Board was given control of the income from the property of the government and of all money paid for taxes. Within a few years the finances of the government were reduced to a system and the government business was conducted with much greater economy. By 1846 the national debt had been paid off.



John Ricord

John Ricord. During this period (1840–50) many lawsuits were brought against the government by foreigners living in Hawaii. It looked as though these foreigners wanted the Hawaiian government to be weak and helpless, so that they could do as they pleased. Up to 1844 the government had no compe-

tent legal adviser, though the need of one was very great. At the beginning of that year a young lawyer named John Ricord arrived at Honolulu from Oregon. He was a native of New Jersey and had been educated as a lawyer in New York state. He was a man of much natural ability, of good education, and possessed of an energetic personality. Dr. Judd persuaded him to remain at Honolulu and become the attorney general of the government. On March 9, 1844, he was appointed to that office by King Kamehameha. During the next few years he performed services of the highest value by defeating the various attacks that were made upon the government in the courts, by advising the other officers of the king, and by formulating the plan or system of government which was soon put into operation. He made many personal enemies, but was absolutely loyal to the king.

The Organic Acts. In the spring of 1845 Attorney General Ricord made a famous report to the legislature. He carefully analyzed the constitution of 1840, gave a general outline of the way in which the government ought to be organized, and showed how this could be done in accordance with the constitution. The legislature then passed a resolution directing Mr. Ricord to draw up laws providing for the new organization. This was done, and in less than a year two of the laws, known as Organic Acts, were finally passed by the legislature and approved by the king. They provided that the executive branch of the government should be divided into the five departments of the Interior, Foreign Relations, Finance, Public Instruction, and Law, each presided over by a minister appointed by the king. The work of each department was carefully and minutely regulated, so that all the business of the government would be properly attended to.

The King's ministers. Even before the Organic Acts became law, ministers had been appointed for some of the departments. Dr. Judd was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in November, 1843, but he soon found that his various duties

were too heavy for one man to carry. In the spring of 1845 he persuaded Robert C. Wyllie to take charge of the department of foreign affairs. Dr. Judd then became Minister of the Interior until the spring of 1846. At that time the Ministry was completely organized as follows: John Young (son of the old adviser of Kamehameha I), Premier and Minister of the Interior; Robert C. Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Relations; Dr. G. P. Judd, Minister of Finance; William Richards, Minister of Public Instruction; John Ricord, Attorney General. These ministers, together with other persons who might be appointed by the king, comprised the privy council of state. The law provided that no alien could be a minister of the king. Therefore those ministers who were foreign born became naturalized Hawaiian citizens.

Robert Crichton Wyllie

Mr. Wyllie was a most interesting character. Born in Scotland and educated for the medical profession, he had traveled in nearly all parts of the world while still a young man. He lived for many years in South America and Mexico, in which places he accumulated a good sized fortune as a merchant. He then resided for

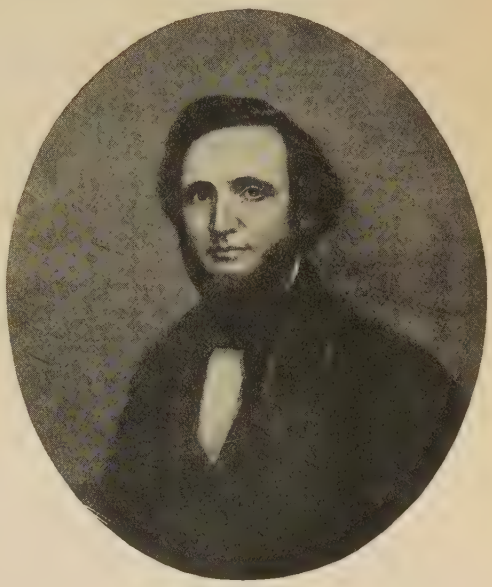
some years in London, returned to America, and in 1844 came to Honolulu as secretary to the new British consul general, William Miller, who was appointed to take the place of Richard Charlton. Soon after his arrival he published in the *Friend* a valuable series of notes on the Hawaiian islands.

Organization of the courts. Under the old system of government, the governors of the various islands had been judges, and after the granting of the constitution of 1840 the governors' courts continued to be the principal courts of the kingdom. Most important of all was the court of Governor Kekuanaoa of Oahu, for here were tried nearly all cases in which foreigners were involved. Kekuanaoa was a man of great ability, but not acquainted with the legal systems of civilized governments; he therefore had much trouble in deciding legal questions which arose in the course of these trials. After a time he adopted the practice of having Dr. Judd and Attorney General Ricord sit with him in such cases. In fact, in some instances, Mr. Ricord not only acted as prosecuting attorney but also wrote the opinions which Governor Kekuanaoa delivered on points of law. Finally, in September, 1845, the governor appointed Lorrin Andrews to act as his substitute in foreign cases. In the following year a temporary law was passed providing for a higher court at Honolulu with one or more judges to try important cases and decide appeals from lower courts, and for police courts at Honolulu and Lahaina. Mr. Andrews and William L. Lee were appointed as judges of the higher court of Honolulu.

Mr. Lee was a young lawyer who had stopped at Honolulu on his way to Oregon. He had a fine legal education and his arrival in Hawaii at this time was a most fortunate circumstance. He was persuaded to remain at the islands and become one of the judges, a position for which he was well fitted both by character and by training. To him belongs much of the credit for making the Hawaiian courts respected at home and abroad. Judge Andrews had come to the islands in 1828 as a missionary

and was for many years connected with Lahainaluna Seminary. Though not specially trained as a lawyer, he was a man of learning and ability and proved to be a capable judge.

Attorney General Ricord began the preparation of a law permanently to organize the judiciary department, but before its completion he resigned his position and left the islands. The law relating to the courts was then completed by Judge Lee, and, after discussion and amendment, was passed by the legislature and approved by the king in September, 1847. This was the third and last of the Organic Acts. The most important court created by this act was the Superior Court of Law and Equity, to consist of a chief justice and two associate justices. This was practically a supreme court in all except name. Below this were four circuit courts, taking the place of the governors' courts, and below these were twenty-four district courts, including the police courts at Honolulu and Lahaina. The old supreme court, created by the constitution of 1840, was continued in existence, but most of its work was taken from it and given to the Superior Court of Law and Equity. This act also prescribed the way in which trials and lawsuits should be conducted.



William L. Lee

Judge Lee was elected chief justice of the Superior Court and

with him were associated Lorrin Andrews and John Ii. Mr. Ii was a native Hawaiian who had been raised as a boy companion of Kamehameha III and with him instructed in the old Hawaiian lore and arts. He had also been carefully educated in the mission schools and had already held several positions of responsibility. His life, as citizen and as judge, was one of great usefulness to the nation.

Change in the land system. Up to 1840 all the land of the kingdom was controlled by a kind of feudal system. The theory was that all the land belonged to the king. He kept part of it for his own use and divided the remainder among the various chiefs. The chiefs in turn divided their lands among others, and so on down to the commoner, who received a small patch of land — as much as he could occupy and cultivate. None of those who received land owned it in fee simple (that is, in the way land is now owned), but each one had to pay something every year (either labor or the product of labor) both to the chief from whom he received the land and to the king. Besides this, the land might be taken away from him at any time and given to someone else.

There were many objections to this system. It frequently worked a hardship on poor tenants who were driven from their land without any good cause. Then again, no one wanted to spend time and labor in improving land which he might have to give up at any moment. The system also led to much trouble with foreigners. They sometimes received grants of land, but they did not always understand the system of landholding, and disputes and ill-feeling often resulted. Some foreign residents wished to establish plantations, but before doing so they desired to have a secure title to the land which they were planning to cultivate.

About 1840 or soon after, the king and chiefs came to the conclusion that this system of landholding ought to be changed, and that they ought to adopt the system used in other civilized coun-

tries. The difficulty was to know how to make this change. After careful investigation it was seen that there were only three parties who had an interest in the land: (1) the king; (2) the chiefs; (3) the tenants or commoners. The question was: how to divide the land between these parties. This was a hard problem to solve, but it was finally done in the following way:

All the land in the kingdom was first divided between the king and the chiefs. This division is known as the *Mahele* (division) and is recorded in the *Mahele Book*. The king then divided his portion into two parts, the smaller of which (known as the Crown Lands) was reserved for his own use and benefit, while the other part (known as Government Land or Public Land) was set apart for the government. The chiefs also gave up one third of their lands to the government. This did not end the matter, however. There were still two classes of people who had a right to receive land. First, and most important, were the tenants or common people who actually cultivated the soil; second, the foreigners who had received grants of land from the king or chiefs. The law required that the rights of all these people should be respected, and therefore the king, chiefs, and government had to give up additional land to satisfy these rights. The tenants or common people received the pieces of land which they occupied and cultivated. These were called *kuleanas* and varied in size from one to forty acres. Foreigners received the lands which had previously been granted to them.

A Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles was appointed, and every person having a right to receive land, whether chief, commoner, or foreigner, was required to present his claim to this Board. The Board then investigated the claim and, if it was valid, gave the claimant an *award*. He could then take the award to the minister of the interior and, upon paying a certain sum of money, receive from him a *royal patent*. By this process the claimant was able to obtain a fee-simple title to his land.

A law was also passed under which the government lands could be sold in small lots at a low price. In this way the common people could get additional land if they wished to do so.

The constitution of 1852. During the ten years from 1840 to 1850 Hawaii made rapid progress in governmental organization and experience, and at the end of that period the time seemed appropriate for framing a new constitution. Accordingly, in 1851, three commissioners were appointed to revise the constitution and report to the legislature in 1852. The commissioners were Dr. Judd, appointed by the king, Judge Ii, appointed by the House of Nobles, and Judge Lee, appointed by the House of Representatives. The new constitution, written chiefly by Judge Lee, was submitted to the legislature in 1852 and, after discussion and amendment, was passed by the two houses and approved by the king.

The constitution of 1852 provided a governmental organization in accordance with the developments which have been described in this chapter. It was a liberal constitution, giving the people an opportunity to have a share in the making of laws and in the administration of the nation's business.

Questions and Exercises

1. In your European history you have read much about the feudal system. Who owned the land under this system? What were some of the evils of this system? What pride could the serf take in the development of his home? What security did the serf have? What security did the lord have?

2. What was the Great Mahele? Before its enactment to whom had all the land belonged? How did the method of land holding affect the attitude of the Hawaiian commoner toward his kuleana? After the Mahele, who owned the land? How much was given to each group? Describe the method used in dividing the land. What does it mean to hold land in *fee simple?*

3. Have you ever built a small house to hold chickens? Did you have an architect draw you a plan for the house? Why? When a

large building is being built, the contractor needs, as guides, a plan and a list of materials and building rules called specifications to help him. Without these what do you think would happen to the building? In a government a constitution, or description of government, takes the place of the plan and specifications. Show how the constitution of Kamehameha III was like a building plan and specifications. Explain why it was that the Hawaiian kings had not needed a constitution before 1840.

XVI

END OF FOREIGN DIFFICULTIES

Continuance of difficulties. After the three great powers, the United States, Great Britain, and France, had recognized the independence of Hawaii, it might reasonably be expected that there would no longer be any serious trouble with those nations. Nevertheless there continued to be trouble for at least ten years, and at times the independence of the kingdom seemed to be in danger. None of the great nations of the world seemed to be willing to treat the Hawaiian kingdom as an equal. It will be remembered that in the treaty made by Captain Laplace in 1839, the French were given some special privileges. British and American citizens were not satisfied until the same privileges had been given to them. In addition to all this many of the officials sent out to represent the three great powers acted in disagreeable and unreasonable ways and frequently stirred up hard feelings.

Policy of Mr. Wyllie. The task of dealing with this problem fell at first on Dr. Judd; but after the beginning of 1845, on R. C. Wyllie. As minister of foreign relations Mr. Wyllie proved to be a courageous and untiring defender of the rights of the king and his government. He tried to negotiate fair and honorable treaties with foreign countries and finally succeeded in doing this in most cases. He found that the Hawaiian government could ordinarily get better treatment by appealing directly to the foreign governments themselves than by dealing with their representatives in Hawaii. In order to show the world that the Hawaiian government acted honorably and that on many oc-

casions foreigners were unreasonable in their demands and unjust in their statements, Mr. Wyllie published much of the correspondence between the Hawaiian government and foreign representatives. In the course of the next ten years he had the satisfaction of seeing the independence of Hawaii firmly established.

Relations with the United States. In 1843 a commissioner, George Brown, was appointed to represent the United States in Hawaii. Mr. Brown was the first diplomatic (as distinguished from consular) official to be sent by any foreign power to this kingdom. He proved to be the wrong man for the place, acting in a disrespectful and insulting manner, and the king soon asked the president of the United States to recall him.

The next United States commissioner, Anthony Ten Eyck, was much like Mr. Brown and it was not long before he became involved in difficulties with the Hawaiian government. He also tried very hard to negotiate a treaty which would give to American citizens in Hawaii the special privileges that Captain Laplace's treaty gave to Frenchmen. His conduct finally became so unreasonable that the king refused to have any further dealings with him.

In 1849 a special ambassador, James J. Jarves, sent by the king to Washington, negotiated a fair and reasonable treaty with the United States, which went into effect in 1850. The kingdom of Denmark had already, in 1846, made such a treaty with the Hawaiian kingdom.

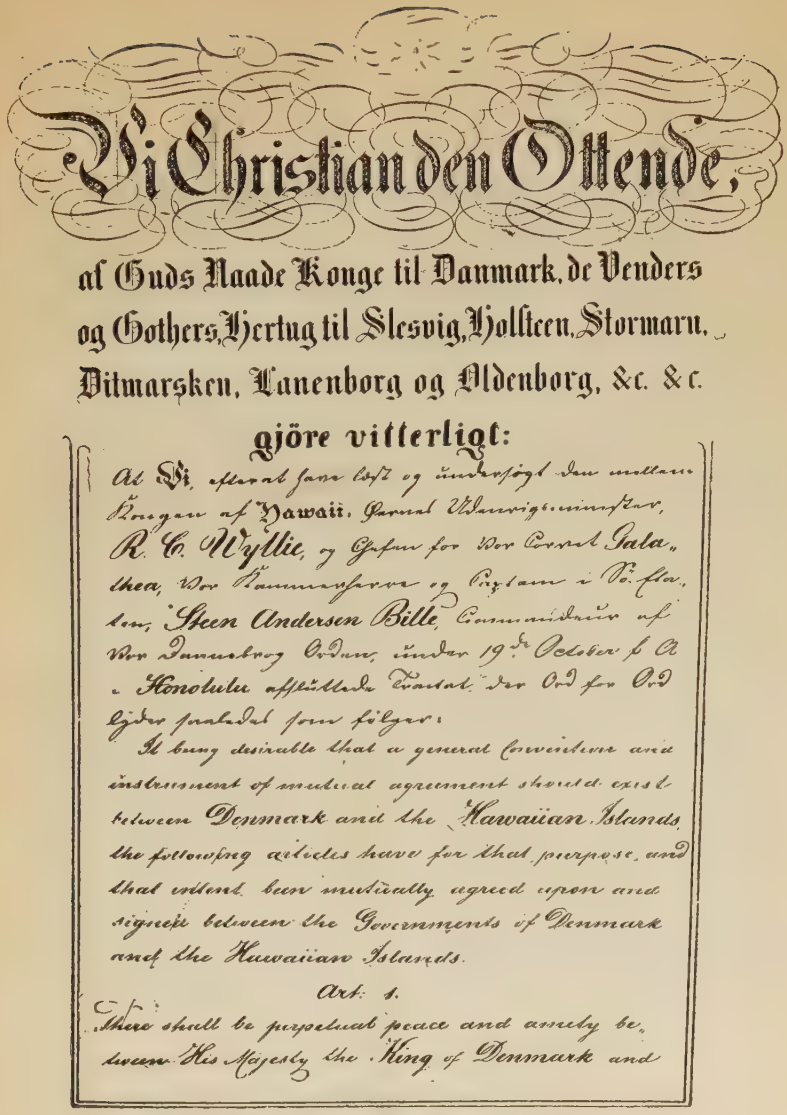
Luther Severance, who arrived in 1851 as commissioner from the United States, was the first diplomatic representative of that country to conduct himself in a dignified manner and show proper respect for the king and government of Hawaii. His example was followed by his successors.

Relations with Great Britain. In the spring of 1844 William Miller arrived in Honolulu as British consul general, taking the place of Richard Charlton. Mr. Miller brought with him a new treaty, somewhat like that of Captain Laplace, which the

king signed under protest and in the expectation that a more acceptable treaty would soon be made. In 1846 the British and French governments sent out new treaties, exactly alike, not quite so bad as the other treaties, but still containing two objectionable articles. The king considered it advisable to sign these also and to continue the effort to get just treaties with those powers. This was finally accomplished in 1851 with Great Britain, and in 1858 with France.

Seal of Danish Treaty of 1846

The only serious cause of dispute with Great Britain during this period was over the question of Richard Charlton's land claim. It will be remembered that this claim was one of the grounds for the actions of Captain Paulet in 1843 and that it was one of the questions left to the decision of the law advisers of the British government. Their decision was that Mr. Charlton should be given undisturbed possession of the land if he produced the original grant from Kalanimoku and showed that it was genuine. There was a difference of opinion as to the meaning of this decision and as to



Vi Christian den Ottende,

af Guds Naade Konge til Danmark, de Venders og Gothers, Hertug til Slesvig, Holsteen, Stormarn, Ditmarsken, Lauenborg og Oldenborg, &c. &c.

gjöre vitterligt:

At Vi, efterat have bestræbt os for at tilvejebringe den mellem Kongen af Hawaii, Gerrit Wanrijgenimmer, R. C. Wyllie, og Gesanten for Vor Person Galathea, Vor Kammerherre og Kaptain i Vor Flaade, Hr. Steen Andersen Bille, Commandeur af Vor Dannebrog Orden, under 19de October f. A. i Honolulu afsluttede Traktat, der ord for ord lyder saaledes som følger:

It being desirable that a general convention and instrument of mutual agreement should exist between Denmark and the Hawaiian Islands the following articles have for that purpose, and that intent been mutually agreed upon and signed between the Governments of Denmark and the Hawaiian Islands.

Art. 1.

There shall be perpetual peace and amity between His Majesty the King of Denmark and

First Page of Danish Treaty of 1846

the way in which it should be carried out. This led to a long and sometimes bitter correspondence between Consul General Miller and the Hawaiian minister of foreign relations; the controversy was not finally closed until 1847. The result was that Charlton got possession of the land in dispute, although there is strong evidence to show that his grant was either forged or obtained under a misunderstanding.

Relations with France. As soon as news reached Hawaii of the recognition of independence by France and England, the attitude of the French consul, Mr. Dudoit, changed completely and thereafter his relations with the government were of the most friendly character. In 1846 the $20,000 taken by Captain Laplace in 1839 was brought back by a French admiral, the boxes in which it was originally packed never having been opened.

But these pleasant relations with France continued for only a few years. In the beginning of 1848 a new French consul, named Patrick Dillon, arrived at Honolulu. He proved to be a trouble maker, hunting diligently for causes of complaint, and trying to create ill feeling between the Catholics and the government. He also made ungrounded charges that the treaty with France was not being observed. In April, 1849, matters came to a crisis. The Hawaiian government referred to the French government all the questions in dispute and asked the king of France to recall M. Dillon. About the same time the latter appealed for support to the French commander in the Pacific, Rear Admiral de Tromelin.

In the middle of August the admiral came to Honolulu with two warships, the *Poursuivante* and the *Gassendi*, and, after consulting with Consul Dillon, sent to the king a series of ten demands, based upon the charges which had been worked up by the consul. He also made threats as to what he would do if the demands were not granted. The king returned a courteous reply, repelling the charges and refusing to grant the demands. Thereupon the admiral landed an armed force, which took possession

of the fort, the custom house, and other government buildings. The king's yacht was confiscated and a number of merchant vessels in the harbor were seized. The fort was completely

From a daguerreotype made in Paris, photograph by Norman D. Hill.

Dr. Judd and the two princes

Prince Alexander on the left of the picture, Prince Lot on the right.

dismantled and the furniture in the governor's house in the fort was destroyed. After about ten days the two warships departed, taking Consul Dillon with them.

While this difficulty was in progress, the British and American consuls protested against the actions of the French admiral, and through them a protest and an appeal were sent by the king to the British and American governments. It was also decided to send a special embassy to France. Dr. Judd was selected for this purpose, and he sailed in September, 1849, taking with him the two young princes, Alexander Liholiho, the heir-apparent, and his brother, Lot Kamehameha. They arrived in Paris about the end of January, 1850, and spent two months and a half in the vain effort to persuade the French government to right the wrong that had been done by Consul Dillon and Admiral de Tromelin and to make a new and just treaty. Having given up hope of success in this endeavor, Dr. Judd and the princes returned to the islands by way of England and the United States. In London Dr. Judd discussed the terms of the new treaty between Great Britain and Hawaii, which was signed the following year. The journey was one of great interest and profit to the two young princes. They received a great deal of attention wherever they went, and their natural intelligence, their education, and their gentlemanly conduct created a most favorable impression on those whom they met.

Soon after the return of Dr. Judd, a French commissioner, M. Emile Perrin, arrived at Honolulu on the warship *Serieuse*, and took up with Mr. Wyllie the questions at issue between the two countries. After an extensive discussion, both orally and in writing, M. Perrin, on February 1, 1851, brought forward again the same ten demands that had first been presented by Admiral de Tromelin. The spirit in which the French commissioner carried on the negotiations and the presence of the French warship in the harbor created great alarm.

Finally, as a measure of self-defense, the king signed a secret proclamation putting the islands under the protection of the United States until the relations between France and Hawaii should be placed on a proper basis. This proclamation was to

be used only in case of emergency. It was put in the hands of the American commissioner, Mr. Severance, with the request that he act according to it in case the American flag should be raised above the Hawaiian flag. This was on March 10. M. Perrin soon got wind of what had been done. He saw that he had gone too far and immediately began to talk more moderately. He practically withdrew part of his demands and a declaration was drawn up and signed by him and Mr. Wyllie, covering the other points. M. Perrin then returned to France for further instructions. From this time on there was no serious trouble with France.

Change in attitude of the United States toward Hawaii. When this incident was brought to the attention of Daniel Webster, secretary of state of the United States, he instructed Mr. Severance to return to the Hawaiian authorities the proclamation in reference to a protectorate. At the same time he stated clearly the policy of the United States, which was to respect the independence of the Hawaiian islands, to have no thought of obtaining possession of them, and to insist that no other nation should take possession of them.

But very soon the attitude of the American nation toward Hawaii was greatly changed by a series of important events. In 1846, a long dispute between the United States and Great Britain was settled by giving the United States possession of the territory now included in the states of Oregon and Washington. In the same year the United States went to war with Mexico, and as a result of that war California became a part of the American nation. This brought the United States very close to Hawaii and gave the American people a greater interest in the Pacific Ocean and in the trade with Asia. Then in 1848 gold was discovered in California and thousands of people came there to live and to make their fortunes. In a little while California became a populous state. These developments stirred the imagination of the American people. The idea of expansion took possession

of many of them. They said it was the " manifest destiny " (or *fate* we would say) of the United States to include all of North America, as well as Cuba and Hawaii.

During this period there were in California many persons of an adventurous and reckless character who were very willing to help along this " manifest destiny " by organizing bands of filibusters to conquer the neighboring states of Mexico and perhaps also the Hawaiian islands. These people were greatly excited by the reports of the French attitude toward Hawaii, and in the fall of 1851 there was much talk of filibusters going from California to the islands. The king and his advisers began to have some fear of danger from that direction.

Franklin Pierce, who became president of the United States in 1853, was favorable to the idea of " manifest destiny," though he did not approve the actions of filibusters. His secretary of state, W. L. Marcy, thought the islands would some day become a part of the United States and he was willing and glad to have them come in whenever they were ready to do so. He also tried to find out what France would think of such a movement. President Pierce appointed a new commissioner, David L. Gregg, to take the place of Mr. Severance. Mr. Gregg expected that the islands would soon be annexed to the United States.

Political disturbance in Hawaii. At the same time there was a great deal of political disturbance in Hawaii. There were various reasons for this. The native population was growing smaller year by year and some people predicted that the Hawaiian race would soon be extinct. After the settlement of California the number of Americans living in the islands was greatly increased. A large number of these American residents wanted to see the American flag flying over them. " Annexation " was freely talked about. There was also believed to be danger that revolutionists would overthrow the native monarchy, set up a republic, and then later join the United States, much as Texas had done some years before. Many of the newcomers and many

of the old residents were violently opposed to certain members of the government who had formerly been missionaries, whose influence was generally thought to be against annexation, and who sought to strengthen the government by having foreigners become Hawaiian subjects. They were particularly hostile to Dr. Judd and to Richard Armstrong who had become minister of public instruction on the death of Mr. Richards in 1847.

In the spring of 1853, smallpox broke out in the islands. The government took vigorous steps to prevent the spread of the disease but without success. Before the epidemic was stopped, two or three thousand natives died. The opponents of Dr. Judd and Mr. Armstrong took advantage of this pestilence to stir up sentiment against them. Among other things they said that these two men were responsible for the spread of the smallpox. Meetings were held, a committee appointed, and a petition drawn up, asking the king to dismiss Judd and Armstrong from the ministry. The king hesitated. He did not like to yield to this petition, and yet he was afraid there would be serious trouble if he retained these two men, particularly Dr. Judd, in the cabinet. He asked the advice of the chiefs who were members of the privy council, and they voted, five to four, that it would be proper to ask the two ministers to resign. The king delayed for two weeks longer and then asked for Dr. Judd's resignation. At this moment all the ministers resigned, and the king then reappointed all of them except Dr. Judd. His place as minister of finance was taken by E. H. Allen, who had been for four years the American consul at Honolulu.

Annexation Treaty of 1854. While this agitation was going on, a petition was presented to the king, asking him to take steps to bring about the annexation of Hawaii to the United States. This proposal was given very serious consideration by Kamehameha III and his advisers, and finally, in February, 1854, the king instructed Mr. Wyllie to take up the subject with Mr. Gregg, the new commissioner from the United States, to find

out on what terms annexation could be brought about, and to negotiate a treaty for that purpose, subject to the approval of the king, the cabinet, and the heir-apparent, Prince Alexander Liholiho. There were two principal reasons for this action. One was the danger of revolution within the kingdom. The other was the danger of some attack from without, either by filibusters from California or by some foreign power. If the native monarchy could not be maintained, it was felt that annexation to the United States, by means of a treaty, was the best course to follow. Therefore the king and his advisers wished to have a treaty of annexation ready, to be used in case of emergency.

The preparation of the treaty was in the hands of Mr. Wyllie and Mr. Gregg, and their negotiations went on slowly through the summer of 1854. There were two important points on which they could not agree. Mr. Wyllie, by order of the king, insisted that Hawaii should be admitted into the American Union as a full-fledged state and not as a territory. He also required that the United States pay $300,000 yearly to the king and to the native chiefs and officials who would lose their places as a result of annexation. Mr. Gregg did not believe his government would ratify a treaty with those two articles included. He said the question of admission as a state would have to be left to Congress, and he thought a yearly payment of $100,000 was enough. But he finally agreed to include the two articles in the treaty and refer the whole matter to the president for decision. The treaty was then written out, signed by Mr. Gregg and Mr. Wyllie, and submitted to the king, the cabinet, and Prince Alexander Liholiho for approval.

Weeks passed by without any action on the treaty. The delay was due mainly to Prince Alexander, who was not in favor of annexation except as a last resort. It is possible that Mr. Wyllie encouraged him in this waiting policy. In November Mr. Wyllie received a report that a band of filibusters was coming from California to overthrow the government, and that this could

only be avoided by immediate annexation. The Hawaiian authorities interpreted this report as an attempt to force the king to sign the treaty without further delay. It happened that there were British, French, and American warships in the harbor. On the request of the king the commanders of these ships promised their aid in protecting the government from the threatened attack.

From a daguerreotype in the Stangenwald Collection.

Kamehameha III

This incident made Prince Alexander and Mr. Wyllie even less willing to have the treaty approved. They thought it showed that the king's government would always be protected by the great powers, and that annexation was not so necessary after all. Still they could not always be sure of having powerful warships in the harbor, and it is possible that the treaty would have been signed by King Kamehameha III if he had lived. His death, December 15, 1854, put a stop to the whole matter. It was afterwards found out that the treaty as drawn up would not have been approved by the president of the United States if it had been presented to him.

The death of Kamehameha III marks the end of an epoch.

Thereafter, the independence of Hawaii was never seriously endangered by an outside force, though the question of annexation to the United States came up again and again. But for some time after the death of Kamehameha III American influence was not as powerful as it had been during his reign.

Questions and Exercises

You have learned about the earlier difficulties which Hawaii had with more powerful countries. This chapter describes further difficulties of the same type. Compare the part played by France, Great Britain, and the United States in the earlier troubles with their actions described in this chapter. What acts of the United States in Texas and Mexico made this country change its attitude toward Hawaii for a time? Do you think that annexation of Hawaii by the United States was or was not justified in 1854? Give reasons for your answer. Which do you consider better — the attitude of the United States toward Hawaii as described in Chapter XIV, or as described in this chapter? Why?

For Further Reading

Alexander, W. D. — "The Uncompleted Treaty of Annexation of 1854." *Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society*, No. 9.

XVII

THE WHALING ERA

During the reign of Kamehameha III and that of his successor, Kamehameha IV, the prosperity of Hawaii, in a commercial way, was chiefly dependent upon the whaling industry. In an earlier chapter it was pointed out how the coming of the whalers resulted in the growth of Honolulu, the building up of trade, and the increase of the foreign population in the period before 1840. This development was one of the reasons for the reorganization of the government on a constitutional basis and for the change in the land system. The whaling industry was therefore beneficial to Hawaii in these ways, but it also had some injurious effects. The whaling era in Hawaii lasted for about sixty years (1820–1880), but it was at its height during the twenty years from 1840 to 1860.

Why the whaling was important. It is impossible to understand the history of this period without knowing something about the whaling industry. Nowadays we hardly ever hear of whalers, but seventy-five or a hundred years ago whaling was of great importance. At that time there were no electric lights and no kerosene oil. Whale oil was used in lamps and in the manufacture of candles. These lamps and candles were the chief sources of artificial light. Most of the lubricating oil for use in machinery was made from whale oil. Many articles which are now made out of thin steel, celluloid, or rubber were then made out of whalebone. So that there was a great demand for whale oil and whalebone, and hundreds of ships scoured the seas in search of whales. The Americans were the most enter-

prising whalers and there were several towns in New England, such as Nantucket and New Bedford, which did nothing else except carry on whale fishery.

Whalers in the Pacific Ocean. Whalers first came into the Pacific Ocean before the year 1800. They operated along the coast of Chili, and gradually spread out northward along the American coast and westward into the middle of the Pacific.

Photograph by courtesy of State Street Trust Company, Boston.

A whaling scene off the island of Hawaii in 1833

By 1820 they had reached the sperm whale fishing grounds off the coast of Japan. From that year the Hawaiian islands became an important place of resort for the whaleships, which stopped here on their way to and from that region.

Rapid increase after 1840. About 1840, new and very valuable whale fishing grounds were discovered along the northwest coast of America, in the Okhotsk Sea, and in the Arctic Ocean north of Bering Strait. This resulted in a tremendous increase in the number of whaleships which cruised in the region north of Hawaii, and which visited the ports of the Hawaiian islands.

Statistics show that in 1840 there were eighty-six arrivals of whaleships at Honolulu and Lahaina, while in 1843 there were three hundred eighty-three, and in 1846, five hundred ninety-six. That was the largest number of arrivals in any one year, but the industry increased in value for at least ten years after 1846, although the number of ships was not so large. The average number of arrivals between 1840 and 1860 was about four hundred each year.

Financial gain from visits of whaleships. In order to supply the wants of the ships it was necessary to bring in large quantities of goods from the outside world. In 1843 goods to the value of about a quarter of a million dollars were imported into the islands. By 1847 the value of imports was nearly three times as great as in 1843. In the beginning of 1848, the editor of the *Polynesian* made the following statement: "During the past five years the commerce of the Hawaiian Islands has increased rapidly. From being a place hardly known in the commercial world, we have come to be quite a lion in commerce. . . . New traders have flocked in — new stores and warehouses have sprung up — our mechanics have had abundance of employment, and the few natives engaged in agriculture have reaped a rich harvest."

The financial gain from the visits of the whalers was seen in various ways. The revenue of the government was increased by the duties paid on imported goods and by the port charges collected from the owners of the ships. The business of the merchants and mechanics was increased. The farmers had a good market for the potatoes, vegetables, beef, and other things which they raised. In fact the economic life of the islands was quite tied up with the whaling industry. As early as 1844, R. C. Wyllie wrote that "the prosperity of these islands has depended, and does depend, mainly upon the whaleships that annually flock to their ports." The importance of this industry was so clearly recognized that the government passed numerous laws to en-

courage the visits of whaleships, giving them special privileges of various kinds.

When the whaleships came into port. There were two seasons each year when the whalers came to the islands, one in the spring and one in the fall. At those times the ports of Honolulu and Lahaina were crowded with ships. There was great rivalry between these two ports for the honor of having the largest number of ships. Up to 1840 Honolulu had the lead; from 1841 to 1849 the larger number went to Lahaina; then for a few years they alternated; but after 1855 Honolulu again took the lead and rapidly outstripped the Maui port. Honolulu had much the better harbor, but many shipmasters preferred Lahaina because at that place potatoes and other supplies were abundant and cheap and there were fewer temptations to sailors and less drunkenness and desertion.

In many seasons there were more than a hundred ships in port at one time; in some seasons as many as a hundred and fifty. It is said that at times the ships were moored so close together at Honolulu that a person could walk from one end of the harbor to the other on the decks of the ships without going on shore.

At such times as this there would be thousands of sailors in port and that naturally meant that times were lively. A sailor on a whaleship had a hard life, and when he got on shore for a little while he wanted recreation and entertainment in many different ways. During the whaling season there was always a great deal of noise and disorder, drunkenness and gambling, and even worse evils. Sometimes a riot would get started and then the police officers would have their hands full in putting down the disturbance. The most famous incident of this kind was the sailors' riot in November, 1852.

Sailors riot of 1852. A drunken sailor named Burns had been locked up with a number of others in a cell in the fort. During the night he made such a disturbance that the constable went in to quiet the noise. Burns was struck on the head by the

constable's club and died a few hours later. During the following day a crowd of sailors gathered about the fort and demanded that the constable be turned over to them. No particular trouble occurred that day, but the next afternoon, after the funeral of Burns, another mob of sailors gathered in the streets,

From a painting in Bishop Museum; photograph by Williams.

Interior of the fort, Honolulu

armed with clubs, many of them inflamed with liquor. Part of them gathered about the fort, while others went to the police station. They drove out the police officers, broke up the furniture, and set fire to the building, which was burned to the ground, together with two small neighboring buildings. The immense fleet of whaleships in the harbor narrowly escaped destruction. During the rest of the evening the sailors rioted about town, breaking into saloons, and threatening to attack the homes of Dr. Judd and Mr. Armstrong.

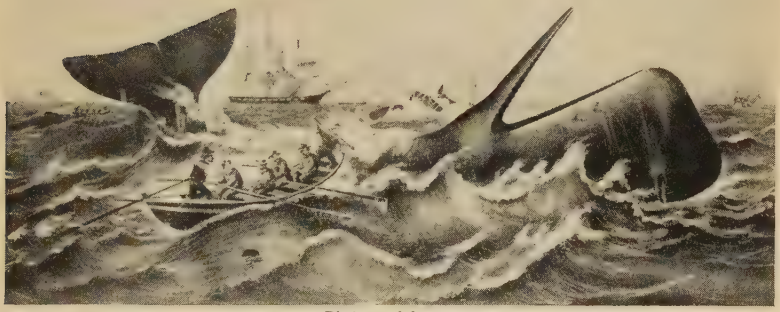
By the next morning it was seen that vigorous steps would have to be taken to put an end to the riot. A military company to coöperate with the police was organized by the foreigners living in Honolulu, and the captains and officers of the ships promised their aid in restoring order. The regular soldiers were called out, and the foreign company, the police, and the soldiers were drawn up inside the fort, prepared for action. When all was ready, Governor Kekuanaoa ordered the unarmed natives outside the fort to clear the sailors from the streets. This was accomplished in a couple of hours, practically without bloodshed. Part of the sailors were arrested and locked up in the fort, and the rest of them were sent back to their ships and made to stay there. In this way the disturbance was ended. The riot was an illustration of what might happen at almost any time during the whaling season.

What the whalers bought. Aside from rest and recreation, the main purpose of the whalers in coming to Hawaii was to purchase supplies of various kinds and to repair and refit the ships. Part of the supplies which they bought were raised in the islands. The records contain some interesting lists showing what kinds of things were bought. Seventy-four ships which visited one port in the fall of 1851 and spring of 1852 purchased 149 cords of firewood, 1,350 barrels of Irish potatoes, 1,750 barrels of sweet potatoes, 3,700 pumpkins, 1,550 bunches of bananas, 2,900 gallons of molasses, 3,000 pounds of sugar, 31,200 pounds of fresh beef, and 1,000 pounds of coffee. For these supplies the ships paid about $12,000. Other articles were also bought by many ships, such as turkeys, hogs, goats, coconuts, breadfruit, taro, cabbages, oranges, pineapples, melons, and leather. It was estimated that supplies of this kind sold to whaleships at Honolulu in 1846 amounted to $45,000, while in 1859 they amounted to $85,000.

But the greater part of what was required by the whaleships had to be imported from the United States, Europe, or Asia —

such things as ropes and cables, iron and copper, ship timbers, tar and rosin, canvas for sails, flour, rice, clothing, and a variety of other things. In addition to all this, the ships' officers and sailors on their own account spent a large amount of money while they were in port, so that the sales each year to the whaling fleet ran up into hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Honolulu as a whaling center. In the early years the whaleships ordinarily stayed in the Pacific Ocean only one year. They



Photograph by courtesy of State Street Trust Company, Boston.

Capturing a sperm whale

A whale will usually turn on its back when dying.

would come out in the winter around Cape Horn, stop at the Hawaiian islands in the spring, spend the summer on the whaling grounds to the north, and then return to their home ports in New England the following winter, stopping on the way at Hawaii in the fall. Gradually this system changed and the ships began to stay out two or more years. When they did this, the plan was to spend the summer on the northern whaling grounds and the winter down along the equator. In the spring and fall they visited the islands to repair and refit the ships. Very often

they would leave their oil and bone in storage at Honolulu, or ship it home as freight in ordinary merchant ships. Under this system the importance of Honolulu as a whaling center was greatly increased and the profits to her business men were correspondingly greater. The people in New England began to complain that Honolulu was getting all the profits from the business.

Whaling as a Hawaiian industry. In another way Honolulu became a whaling center. Local business men engaged in the industry by sending out whaling ships on their own account. A first attempt along this line was made as early as 1831, but nothing of much importance was done until after 1850. In the year 1856 there were fifteen Honolulu whalers, several of which brought back good cargoes of oil and bone. During the course of fifteen years twelve ships on the average were sent out from Honolulu each year. After that the number decreased and they finally disappeared in 1880.

Hawaiian seamen. From the very beginning it was customary for the captains of whaleships to hire native Hawaiians as sailors. So many natives left the islands in this way that the government found it necessary to make laws and regulations on the subject. Thus it was provided that if a shipmaster wished to take a native as a sailor, he must first get the permission of the governor of the island. He also had to promise, under bond, that he would bring the native back at the end of two years. But these laws were not always strictly obeyed.

It is impossible to tell how many native Hawaiians left the islands in this way, but in 1845 the number officially reported was 651, in 1846, 534, and in 1847, 659. In the report of the minister of the interior in 1846, it is stated that "the whole number of those who have left and not returned is not known. The number of those constantly sailing about the ocean cannot be much less than 3,000. . . . We have heard that there is no port in this ocean untrodden by Hawaiians; and they are also in Nantucket, New Bedford, Sag Harbor, New London, and other places in the

United States. All these are in the prime of life, and many who go never again return to this country. There are perhaps 15,000 young men of the Hawaiian Islands, between the ages of fifteen and thirty years, one fifth of whom are wandering on the ocean or in foreign lands." This meant a great loss to the nation.

Decline of the whaling industry. The last big year of the whaling era in Hawaii was 1859. In that year the arrivals totaled five hundred forty-nine. The outbreak of the Civil War in the United States caused the withdrawal of many whalers from the Pacific Ocean. In 1862 there were only seventy-three arrivals of whaleships in Hawaiian ports. After that, and particularly after the close of the war, an attempt was made to revive the industry. By 1867 the arrivals in Hawaiian ports had increased again to two hundred forty-three, but this was followed by another rapid decrease. The whaling industry had received almost a deathblow from the discovery of petroleum in 1859. As a result of that discovery kerosene oil made from petroleum rapidly took the place of whale oil for lighting purposes, and lubricating oils made from petroleum took the place of those made from whale oil for use in machinery. Following this decline came a serious disaster to the whaling fleet in 1871, when more than thirty ships were lost in the ice fields north of Bering Strait. From that year the whaling industry ceased to be of very great importance in the business life of the Hawaiian islands, though for a long time a few whaleships continued to come here each year.

Questions and Exercises

Make a list of the benefits to Hawaii of the whaling industry; of the injuries done to Hawaii by the whaling industry. Must benefits always be accompanied by injuries? Give reasons for your answer. Could some of these injuries to Hawaii have been avoided? How?

For Further Reading

Spears, J. R. — *The Story of the New England Whalers.*

XVIII

EARLY AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISES

All through the years of the whaling era people frequently asked the question: What would be the result if the whaleships should cease coming to Hawaii? Those who thought seriously on the subject saw that if that did happen the economic prosperity of the islands would be destroyed and there would be "hard times," unless something was developed to take the place of the whaling industry. Those who had the welfare of the nation at heart advised the people of Hawaii, both native and *haole*, to prepare for the possible loss of the whalers by developing the agricultural resources of the kingdom. But this advice was not followed as extensively as it should have been. Men recognized that the whaling era was likely to end sooner or later, but while it lasted they could make money more easily by doing business with the whalers than by investing their capital in agricultural enterprises, such as sugar, coffee, cotton, or tobacco plantations. And for a long time the land system and the land laws made it hard to establish and develop plantations. Still, in spite of various difficulties, a number of interesting agricultural enterprises were set on foot during the first half of the last century. While many of these enterprises failed, the experience gained was of permanent value.

Introduction of plants. The agriculture of the ancient Hawaiians was confined mainly to the raising of taro and sweet potatoes. The cultivation of these plants had been brought to a high degree of perfection, involving the laying out of fields and the building of elaborate irrigation systems. Some other kinds

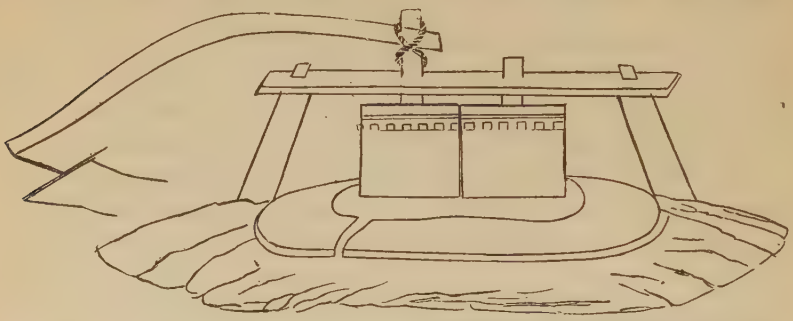
of vegetable foods were used by the natives, but on the whole their agricultural products were comparatively few. The early traders and explorers, notably Vancouver, left many kinds of seeds and plants and introduced useful animals. Some of the early foreign residents did much good in a similar way.

Most important of these was a Spaniard named Francisco de Paula Marin, commonly called *Manini*. This man came to Hawaii before the time of Vancouver, and was for many years a friend and adviser of Kamehameha I. He had a house and garden at Honolulu, where he raised a great variety of plants and fruit trees, many of which had never been grown in Hawaii before his time. He also made nails, tiles, soap, sugar, molasses, castor oil, candles, cigars, wine, brandy, and beer. It is said of him that he was not very generous in giving seeds and plants to other people, but notwithstanding that fact he must be given credit for a large amount of useful work.

With the coming of the missionaries in 1820 a new impetus was given to agricultural effort in the islands. In the first band of missionaries a farmer was included. This shows the practical side of the missionary program. It is true that for various reasons, which were not at all his fault, the services of this farmer did not prove as useful as had been hoped, and he soon returned to the United States. Nevertheless, the missionaries, both by practice and teaching, did much to encourage agriculture. They introduced seeds, plants, and tools in many parts of the islands, and showed the natives how to use all of them.

Beginning of sugar industry. From the fact that sugar cane grew luxuriantly on all the islands of the group, it was very early felt that the manufacture of sugar would be a profitable industry if it were properly managed. Sugar is said to have been made as early as 1802 by a Chinese on the island of Lanai. The Spaniard, Paula Marin, made some sugar in February, 1819, and there are various accounts of the making of sugar and molasses on a small scale, here and there, from that time down to 1835.

In some cases this was done under the patronage of the chiefs. There is some reason for believing that a small cargo of sugar was shipped to California in 1827, and there is evidence to show that another cargo was shipped to New South Wales, Australia,



From the Hawaiian Spectator, *January, 1839.*

A sugar cane mill operated by Chinese on the island of Kauai about 1837

probably about 1833. All of this early sugar was of poor quality, the mills used being very crude affairs.

A plantation in Manoa Valley. From an early day plans were suggested for the systematic development of agriculture. The scheme of John Rives for a French colony was referred to in an earlier chapter. The first attempt that had any chance of success in carrying on agricultural operations on a large scale was made in 1825 by John Wilkinson. This man had come from England with Lord Byron in the *Blonde*. Governor Boki had encouraged him to come and promised to help him get started. Manoa Valley near Honolulu was selected as a good place for a plantation and work was begun in the fall of 1825. Many difficulties had to be met. Tools were lacking, and the ground was broken up with the *o-o*, or digger, used by the natives. The cost of labor, at the rate of twenty-five cents a day, used up a large amount of money. Wilkinson died in the spring of 1827. At that time he had more than a hundred acres of sugar cane and a considerable number of coffee trees growing. Boki and some

of the foreign residents of Honolulu then took charge of the plantation. At intervals during the years 1826–1829 cane was cut and manufactured into sugar, molasses, and rum. Small quantities of coffee are said to have been picked by the natives. But the enterprise proved unprofitable and was abandoned, probably in 1829.

Koloa plantation. Between 1825 and 1830 it became perfectly clear that sandalwood, the principal source of revenue up to that time, was about all gone. The chiefs and their foreign advisers had to look elsewhere for an income. This made them think of developing the natural resources of the islands. At that time the great obstacles were the system of landholding and the absolute control which the chiefs had over the time and labor of the common people. This discouraged industry on the part of the natives and prevented foreigners from doing anything. The chiefs would not sell land to them and did not even like to rent land on terms that the foreigners would accept. In 1835, however, the American firm of Ladd and Company succeeded in obtaining from the king and the governor of Kauai a fifty-year lease of a tract of land at Koloa, Kauai, for the purpose of raising cane and manufacturing sugar. The lease also gave them the right to hire natives to work for them. This marks the beginning of the first successful sugar plantation. There was difficulty in getting started, due to inexperience and to the lack of agricultural implements and draft animals. The ground was first broken with a plow pulled by natives. The laborers were paid twelve and a half cents a day and were furnished with food (fish and poi), the cost of which was estimated at one cent a day for each man. Being paid for their work was a new experience for the natives, and a traveler who visited the place in 1837 wrote that it was an incentive to industry and thrift.

The first mill was a rough wooden affair, but an iron mill was set up about the end of 1837, and an improved mill, to be run by water power, was erected in 1841. The first sugar was made

in the fall of 1837, but it was of poor quality. It was not until about 1842 that sugar of even fair quality was produced.

Attempt to raise silk. Another interesting experiment carried on at Koloa was the attempt to produce silk. In 1836 two Americans, Sherman Peck and Charles Titcomb, leased some land from Ladd and Company and set out a large number of mulberry trees, the leaves of which are used to feed the silkworm. Eggs of the silkworm were brought from China and America, and one of the partners made a visit to the United States for the purpose of buying the necessary machinery. Some trouble was met at first in getting the eggs to hatch properly, but this was finally overcome, and cocoons of good quality were obtained. Native women were taught to reel the silk, at which work they proved to be quite skillful. In August, 1840, a small shipment of raw silk was sent from this plantation to New York. A second plantation was started at Koloa by the firm of Stetson and Company. Ladd and Company had a financial interest in both these plantations. A plantation was also started in Hanalei Valley by Mr. Titcomb, who seems to have sold his interest at Koloa. By the spring of 1840 the success of the industry seemed reasonably certain.

Then a series of misfortunes occurred. A severe drought set in; insect pests attacked the mulberry trees, and violent winds withered the leaves and whipped them from the trees. These disasters proved too serious for the Koloa plantations. The silk industry was abandoned and the land planted to sugar cane. The plantation at Hanalei was not affected in the same way. That location was better adapted to the business, and Mr. Titcomb carried on for a few years longer. But even there the returns were too small and too slow to balance the trouble and expense, and about 1845 the effort was given up.

Experiments with cotton. It is not known with certainty when the development of the cotton industry was first suggested. As early as 1825 it was reported that the natives were beginning

to cultivate cotton "of a very superior quality." In 1832 the missionaries wrote to the American Board recommending that an attempt be made to teach the natives how to make cotton cloth. In one letter they stated that "the cotton tree grows here most luxuriantly, and the cotton is of the best kind. It therefore seems to us a most desirable object that there should be some means for manufacturing it." The recommendation was adopted and the Board sent out a young woman, Miss Lydia Brown, with some apparatus, to teach the art of spinning and weaving. The work was begun in July, 1835, at Wailuku, Maui, with a small class of young women. The pupils manifested great interest and soon learned to spin and to knit. Weaving was more difficult, but after a time the natives learned how to operate the loom. A year and a half later a class was graduated, "clothed in garments of their own manufacture."

Governor Kuakini of Hawaii visited the school at Wailuku and became greatly interested in this new enterprise. In 1837 he put up a stone building at Kailua, to be used as a cotton factory. At this place the spinning was done by girls and women, and the weaving by young men who were taught by an American weaver. By the spring of 1839, about six hundred yards of cloth had been made at Wailuku and about four hundred yards at Kailua, a small part of this being woven by the natives without any assistance.

Cotton was planted at several of the mission stations and at other places. There is a record of one field of fifty-five acres at Haiku, Maui. For a few years much interest was shown in this business; then other things drew attention away from it, and about 1840, or soon after, the cotton industry was abandoned for the time being. It was revived during the period of the American Civil War and some cotton of good quality was raised and exported. After the close of the war the enterprise was given up.

Beginning of coffee industry. Coffee was first raised on the Manoa plantation of John Wilkinson, the plants having been

brought from Brazil in the frigate *Blonde*. Some plants brought from Manila by the British Consul Charlton were also set out in Manoa Valley. In 1828 or 1829, the growing of coffee was begun on the island of Hawaii, in Hilo and Kona, by the missionaries. From there it was taken to Kauai and a plantation started at Hanalei in 1842. A few years later Charles Titcomb laid out another coffee plantation in that valley, after the failure of his silk enterprise.

Early prospects of success were blasted by floods, labor troubles, and a severe drought which occurred in 1851. This was followed by a blight, which resulted in the abandonment of coffee raising on Kauai. But on the other islands, and particularly on Hawaii, the coffee industry became a permanent one, although statistics show that the output varied greatly in quantity from year to year.

Effect of settlement of California. Aside from the efforts to develop the sugar, silk, cotton, and coffee industries, agricultural activity in the islands was confined almost exclusively to the growing of vegetables, especially potatoes, to supply the whaleships. Some tobacco was raised by the natives for their own use, and about 1850 an effort was made to develop that industry, but without success. The raising of wheat and corn was carried on in a small way, chiefly by some of the missionaries and by native Hawaiians under their encouragement. The acquisition of California by the United States (1846) and the rapid settlement of that state after the discovery of gold (1848), gave a great stimulus to Hawaiian agriculture. Those startling events opened a near-by market for sugar and coffee, and created a big demand for produce of all kinds. There was a veritable boom in the potato business. In the years 1849–1855 more than two hundred thousand barrels of potatoes were exported from the islands, nearly all to California. The wheat crop was increased, flour mills erected, and for a few years flour was exported to the Golden State. This did not last, however. California soon

began to raise her own potatoes and wheat. But the market for sugar and coffee remained. In 1854, when Kamehameha III died, those were the staple products of the country and the ones which gave greatest promise for the future.

Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society. In August, 1850, the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society was organized. This showed the growing importance of agriculture and was at the same time a recognition of the need of study and united effort for the future. In the call for the first meeting it was pointed out that the prospects of Hawaii had been greatly changed for the better by two recent developments: (1) the extension of the United States to the Pacific Coast; (2) the change in the Hawaiian land system. The Agricultural Society existed for many years. Meetings were held annually, at which there were reports, addresses, and discussions on agricultural topics and problems. In connection with the annual meeting there was an exhibit of agricultural products, for the best of which prizes were awarded. Judge William L. Lee was the first president of the society and its membership included some of the leading men of the kingdom.

Growth of sugar industry. Following the establishment of the Koloa plantation in 1835, an increasing amount of attention was given to sugar. As early as 1838 there were said to be in operation, or ready to be set up, twenty mills run by animal power and two by water power. All of these were small, and the amount of sugar produced was not large. Koloa was the only *plantation*, properly so called. In that year (1838) the total amount of sugar exported was about forty-four tons. Two years later it had risen to one hundred eighty tons, but in 1841 dropped back to thirty tons. During the next fifteen years several plantations were started and the average export was about two hundred forty tons a year. The first important advance in manufacturing came in 1851, with the invention of the centrifugal drying process. This resulted in a great

saving of time and in a great improvement in the quality of sugar produced.

Outlook for the future. Up to the end of the reign of Kamehameha III the history of the Hawaiian sugar industry was one of severe struggle for existence, with many failures and much loss of money. Nevertheless, progress was being made and it was generally believed that this was destined to be the big industry of the islands. But in order to make it so, the sugar planters had three obstacles to overcome: (1) scarcity of capital; (2) shortage of labor; (3) an uncertain market.

(1) Many of the early plantations were founded on money borrowed at a high rate of interest. Many planters did not have enough capital to sustain them until the profits began to come in. The greater part of the money available at the islands was invested in commercial enterprises more or less closely connected with the whaling industry, and the business men who controlled those enterprises were very slow about putting money into sugar. The firm of C. Brewer and Company was probably the first commercial house to do this.

(2) The shortage of labor was due to the decrease in the native population. It has generally been stated that at the time of the discovery by Captain Cook the population of the islands was about 300,000. In 1823 the missionaries estimated the number of natives at 142,000. According to the census of 1832 it was about 130,000. By 1853 it had fallen to 70,000. Hundreds of the native youth, who would have made good plantation laborers, left the islands on whaleships. Many of those who stayed at home found other kinds of employment and could not be induced to work on the plantations; or they demanded such high wages that the planters could not afford to employ them. Under these circumstances it was proposed that Chinese coolies should be brought to the islands under contract to work on the plantations. The project was taken up by the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society, and in January, 1852, about two hundred Chinese ar-

rived from Hong Kong in the ship *Thetis*. In August, a hundred more arrived. These were the first of the many thousands of laborers brought from abroad to supply the needs of the sugar plantations.

(3) It has been mentioned that California afforded a market for Hawaiian sugar. There were, however, two drawbacks to that state as a permanent market. One was the competition with sugar sent from the Philippine Islands. The other was the tariff duty which had to be paid on all sugar imported into the United States. The Hawaiian sugar planters found it very hard to overcome these two handicaps and still make a profit on their investments. This caused many of them to favor the annexation of Hawaii to the United States.

Questions and Exercises

1. In what respects may the tourist trade to-day be compared with the whaling trade of seventy-five years ago. Is it likely to end as the whaling trade did? Why?
2. Name unsuccessful agricultural experiments made in Hawaii seventy-five years ago.
3. The cultivation of sugar was finally successfully established. What three things were lacking to make it a success at first? How was each obtained?
4. What were some of the good effects of importing labor at this time? Some of the bad effects? Which do you think greater? Why?
5. It is not easy to get plantation laborers to-day. Is there any way to get them besides bringing in more foreigners? What? How? What do you consider the best plan for securing plantation labor? Why?

XIX

A NEW KING AND A NEW POLICY

Kamehameha IV. After the death of Kamehameha III, the people affectionately referred to him as "the good old king." This was by way of contrast to the new king. Kamehameha III was not an old man when he died, but his reign had been long and crowded with important events. His successor, Prince Alexander Liholiho, was proclaimed king, December 15, 1854, under the title of Kamehameha IV, and was formally inaugurated on the eleventh of January in the Stone Church (Kawaiahao). The new king lacked a month of being twenty-one years of age at the time of his inauguration. He was the son of Kinau and Governor Kekuanaoa, and was therefore a grandson of Kamehameha I and a nephew of Kamehameha III. He had inherited all the mental keenness of the Kamehameha line and had received a thorough

Kamehameha IV

education both in Hawaiian and in English. He spoke and wrote both languages with great fluency. Kamehameha III had been extremely democratic in his views and habits; Kamehameha IV was more inclined to be aristocratic, and the etiquette and ceremonial of the royal court became more noticeable during his reign.

Change of policy. During the reign of Kamehameha III American missionary influence and American influence in general had been very powerful. Kamehameha IV wished to strengthen his government and to perpetuate the independence of his kingdom. He recognized the immense benefits that Hawaii had received from the American missionaries and from American commercial and agricultural enterprises, but he feared that the preponderance of American interests would lead finally to the annexation of Hawaii to the United States. His policy, therefore, was to remove the influences which tended toward annexation, or to introduce and foster other influences to counteract them. He had still other reasons for pursuing such a course. When he and his older brother Lot visited America and Europe with Dr. Judd in 1849–50, the young princes are said to have been offended by the treatment they received in some parts of the United States, and to have been greatly impressed with the excellence of British institutions. At any rate they seem to have brought back with them a great admiration for the British form of government and the English church.

In June, 1856, the king was married to Miss Emma Rooke, a granddaughter of the Englishman, John Young, the friend and adviser of Kamehameha I, and great-granddaughter of Keliimaikai, the younger brother of Kamehameha I. In infancy she had been adopted by her uncle, Dr. T. C. B. Rooke, an English physician of Honolulu. She had been educated first in the Young Chiefs' School by Mr. and Mrs. A. S. Cooke, and afterwards by an English governess in the family of Dr. Rooke. Queen Emma was a woman of culture and refinement, with a

kindly and lovable character — a gentlewoman in the finest sense of that word. But her sympathies, naturally and properly, were English, and this had an important effect on the king. At the royal wedding the form of service used was that of the Church of England.

Queen Emma

The change of policy was not carried out suddenly or harshly, but it was begun and gradually furthered very soon after Kamehameha IV came to the throne. In the summer of 1855 the American commissioner wrote that it seemed to be "the determination of the authorities to get rid altogether of all missionary influence in the administration of affairs." At that time there was no member of the cabinet who had ever been connected with the American missionary enterprise, and an Englishman had just taken the place of a former missionary as editor of the government newspaper, the *Polynesian*.

Nonmissionary American influence continued to be strong for several years longer. Until his death in 1857 Chief Justice Lee was the most powerful member of the government and was the most trusted adviser of the king. David L. Gregg, the American commissioner, was also a close friend of the king. In 1858 he

became the Hawaiian minister of finance, a position which he held for four years. Mr. Gregg was a Catholic and that fact and some of his personal habits made him objectionable to the missionary party. But he was a man of ability and good education, and at all times warmly defended American interests. As a result of the action of the House of Representatives, he was forced to resign in 1862. By the end of the reign of Kamehameha IV there was not one American in the king's cabinet. Mr. Wyllie was the leading figure in the government.

Reciprocity. It was the wish of the king and his councilors to promote the development of the resources of the kingdom, and to remove all causes of discontent with the existing government. The Hawaiian sugar industry was seriously handicapped by the United States tariff laws. Many of the planters, Americans by birth, felt that if Hawaii were a part of the United States the prosperity of the country would be greatly increased, since it would not be necessary to pay the heavy duties on sugar imported into California and Oregon. They were therefore inclined to look favorably on annexation projects. But there was another way in which the desired result could be brought about. This was through a reciprocity of trade, by which Hawaiian products would be admitted into the United States and American products would be admitted into Hawaii, both free of duty. The Hawaiian government desired to bring about an arrangement of this kind.

Already, in 1848 and 1852, such a reciprocity of trade had been suggested, discussed, and formally proposed by the Hawaiian government, but the proposition had not received a favorable response from the United States. Now, in 1855, Chief Justice Lee was sent to Washington as a special ambassador for the purpose of trying to secure a reciprocity treaty. Mr. Gregg, the American commissioner, strongly recommended such a treaty. President Pierce and Secretary of State Marcy were favorable to the project, and a treaty was soon drawn up and signed by

Mr. Marcy and Judge Lee. Unfortunately it never went into effect, since the United States Senate refused to ratify it, due largely to the opposition of the sugar planters of Louisiana. Another attempt was made in 1863, but it failed because of the Civil War then in progress in the United States.

The Prince of Hawaii

The Prince of Hawaii. On May 20, 1858, a son was born to the king and queen. This event gave great happiness to all classes of the population. It seemed to be an assurance that the dynasty of Kamehameha would continue to rule in Hawaii. By royal proclamation the little heir to the throne received the official title of the Prince of Hawaii. The name given to him was Albert Edward Kauikeaouli. The young prince proved to be a bright and attractive child, though not of a very rugged constitution. The king and queen were passionately fond of him, and he was greatly loved by all who knew him. The brief life of the prince was closely connected with the establishment of the Episcopal Church in Hawaii.

The Episcopal Church. From an early date there had been in Honolulu a number of English and American residents who in their homelands had been members of the Church of England or of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. From time to time the organization of an Episcopal Church had been suggested, but nothing definite had resulted from these suggestions. Now the king and queen were interested in such a plan. After the birth of the Prince of Hawaii they are said to have desired that the child's education should be under the direction of a tutor belonging to the Episcopal Church, perhaps a clergyman of that faith. Mr. Wyllie had written several times to Bishop Kip of California, asking him to send a clergyman to Hawaii, but Bishop Kip had no men to spare for work outside of his own field, although he was greatly interested in the subject.

In 1859 an appeal was sent to the Church of England, asking for the establishment of a church in Honolulu. King Kamehameha offered to give a site for the church and parsonage, and to contribute a certain amount annually for the support of a clergyman. This appeal met a favorable response. The plan finally made in England for the mission included the sending of a bishop and several clergymen from that country, to be augmented by several clergymen from the United States. It was the intention that the English and American branches of the Episcopal Church should coöperate in the enterprise; but the Civil War in the United States interfered, and therefore the mission as established was distinctly English in tone.

It was expected that the introduction of this religious body would be marked by the christening of the Prince of Hawaii. Queen Victoria of England had consented to be the godmother of the Hawaiian royal child. The baptism was to be administered by the new bishop, the Right Rev. T. N. Staley, but when he and his party arrived at Honolulu, October 11, 1862, the prince was dead. The boy had been attacked with brain fever a few weeks before and had died after an illness of eight days. When it was

seen that he could not survive, the baptismal ceremony was performed by the pastor of Kawaiahao church, using the ritual of the Church of England.

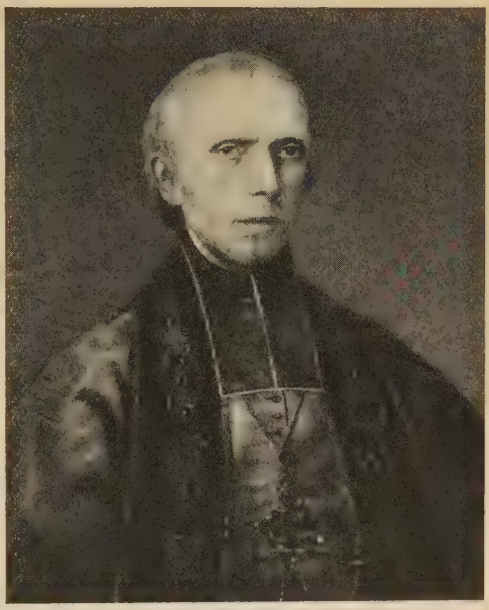
Soon after the arrival of Bishop Staley, a charter of incorporation was granted for the new religious organization. The name given to it was the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church, but it was commonly called the English Church. The king and queen were the first communicants, and the church continued to have their earnest patronage. The king further showed his interest by translating into the Hawaiian language the English Book of Common Prayer.

The Hawaiian Board. The establishment of the Episcopal Church in Hawaii was almost simultaneous with an important change in the organization and control of the pioneer American mission. Up to this time the work of that mission had been under the direct control of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. For some years the Board had looked upon Hawaii as a Christian nation and had felt that the time was near when the religious work should be left in the hands of the Hawaiian churches — that these churches should be self-governing and, so far as possible, self-supporting. As early as 1848 some steps had been taken in that direction. In 1863, Dr. Rufus Anderson, Foreign Secretary of the American Board, visited the islands in order to examine the situation and assist in working out a new plan for carrying on the work.

The result was that the American Board practically withdrew from the field, leaving the general work of the Hawaiian churches under the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. The membership of that organization up to this time had been confined to the missionaries. It was now enlarged to include the native pastors and also the lay delegates elected from the different islands. Four subordinate island associations were organized to take care of local church affairs. The Hawaiian Evangelical Association now elects an executive body, commonly

called the "Hawaiian Board," which manages the business of the association.

The Catholic mission. In 1841 the bishop in charge of the Hawaiian mission of the Catholic Church went to France for the purpose of getting a reinforcement and financial assistance. He was successful in this effort, but he and all the new missionaries were lost at sea on the return to Hawaii. After some delay Rev. L. D. Maigret was appointed bishop, and under his supervision the work of the Catholic Church was carried on for more than thirty years. By the beginning of the reign of Kamehameha IV the work was thoroughly established. From Oahu missionaries had been sent to the other islands, where they met with encouraging success. Schools were organized, and in the Koolaupoko district of Oahu was established in 1846 the College of Ahuimanu, a school somewhat like the Lahainaluna Seminary. In 1859 ten Sisters of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts arrived at Honolulu and opened a boarding and day school for girls.



Bishop Maigret

The Mormons. Missionaries of the Mormon church first came to Hawaii in December, 1850, and others were sent out from Utah during the next few years. Their work was actively

carried on and met with considerable success, particularly on the island of Maui. In 1855 a piece of land was leased on the island of Lanai, to be used as a gathering place. In 1858 all the missionaries were recalled to Utah on account of the "Mormon War," and the native members were left to look out for themselves. In 1861 Walter Murray Gibson arrived from Utah and assumed the leadership of the Mormons in Hawaii. This man, who afterwards became very prominent in Hawaiian politics, used the Mormons to advance his own personal interests. He was expelled from the church in 1864 and other missionaries were sent from Utah to take charge of the work. Through Gibson's actions the Mormons lost their property on Lanai. Soon afterwards they bought the land at Laie, Oahu, which was made the headquarters of the Mormon church in Hawaii. The missionaries of this church have labored zealously and effectively. Even those who disagree with their religious doctrines admit that their influence on the people has been good.

The Queen's Hospital. The decrease of the native population was a matter of serious concern to the king and to all friends of the race. Various reasons have been given for this decrease. The birth rate was low and the death rate high. Epidemics, such as measles in 1848 and smallpox in 1853, carried off thousands of the people. At all times disease was terribly prevalent, and very little effort was made to prevent it. Kamehameha IV, in his first message to the legislature in 1855, said that the decrease of the population was a subject "in comparison with which all others sink into insignificance; for our first and great duty is that of self-preservation. Our acts are in vain unless we can stay the wasting hand that is destroying our people. . . . I think this decrease in our numbers may be stayed; and happy should I be if, during the first year of my reign, such laws should be passed as to effect this result. I would commend to your special consideration the subject of establishing public hospitals."

In spite of the earnest appeal of the king in 1855, and again in 1856, the legislature made no appropriation for this important object. Finally, in 1859, the king and queen themselves undertook to raise money for a hospital. They went about with a subscription list and in the course of a few weeks succeeded in obtaining pledges for a substantial amount. A board of trustees was elected, and before the end of 1860 the hospital building was completed. The Queen's Hospital is the finest monument to the memory of King Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma.

Rehabilitation through immigration. Besides the problem of saving the Hawaiian race from destruction by disease and other causes, the question was raised as to whether the native stock could not be renewed and given a fresh start. It was thought that this might be done by immigration. The Chinese who had been imported had failed to come up to expectations. In the same speech in which he recommended the establishment of hospitals, the king said that, in view of this partial failure of the Chinese experiment, "it becomes a question of some moment whether a class of persons more [like] the Hawaiian race, could not be induced to settle on our shores. It does not seem improbable that a portion of the inhabitants of other Polynesian groups might be disposed to come here, were suitable efforts made to lead them to such a step. In a few days they would speak our language with ease; they would be acclimated almost before they left the ships that conveyed them hither; and they might bring with them their wives. . . . Such immigrants, besides supplying the present demand for labor, would pave the way for a future population of native born Hawaiians, between whom and those of aboriginal parents no distinguishable difference would exist."

This idea of rehabilitation through immigration was much discussed both in the reign of Kamehameha IV and at a later time. In 1855 there was no money available to put the idea into practice, but in 1859 a few South Sea islanders were brought in as

a private venture to work on the Koloa plantation. At a later time the experiment was tried on a larger scale, but without very great success.

Death of Kamehameha IV. Kamehameha IV suffered much from asthma and his naturally strong constitution was considerably weakened by it. He was not always as careful of his physical health as he should have been. The death of his son, the Prince of Hawaii, left him heartbroken, and from that time his health failed rapidly. He died on November 30, 1863, after a brief illness. In his mental attainments, it is probable that Kamehameha IV was the most brilliant of all the Hawaiian monarchs.

Questions and Exercises

1. This chapter describes new influences affecting Hawaii's life. Name four of them.
2. What new influences can you think of that are affecting Hawaii to-day?
3. Do you think Hawaii is changing more or less at present than it was in the time of Kamehameha IV? Give reasons for your answer.
4. Changing conditions and influences mean adjustments to meet the changes. What adjustments were made in the time of Kamehameha IV? What adjustments are being made to-day?
5. Describe the beginning of the Queen's Hospital.

XX

THE LAST OF THE KAMEHAMEHAS

Kamehameha V. After the death of the Prince of Hawaii Kamehameha IV had named his own older brother, Lot Kamehameha, as his successor on the throne. When Kamehameha IV died, Prince Lot was immediately proclaimed king under the title of Kamehameha V. The new king was a man of interesting and forceful character. Like his brother he was well educated. He had visited Europe and America with Dr. Judd in 1849–50. In 1860 he traveled on the Pacific Coast, visiting British Columbia and California. Kamehameha V did not possess the intellectual brilliancy of his predecessor, but had more ability and experience in practical affairs. He was minister of the interior during the last six years of his brother's reign, and for more than a year had charge of the department of finance. As king he took a close

Kamehameha V

personal interest in the conduct of the government. He presided over the meetings of the cabinet and the privy council and discussed thoroughly with his ministers all important questions. In his choice of ministers he was careful to select men who believed as he did, and he gave them loyal support at all times. He was positive in his ideas, and some of his measures stirred up violent opposition; but there can be little doubt that he honestly tried to do what he thought was best for the nation.

Kamehameha V has been called the "last great chief of the olden type." He was the grandson and heir of the conqueror, Kamehameha I, and he believed that fact gave him the right to rule. In his opinion it was the right and the duty of the chiefs to lead and direct the common people. He was somewhat despotic in his way of thinking and acting, but it was a benevolent despotism. He wanted all of his subjects to be industrious and economical, not to waste their time and money foolishly. He also tried to protect them from danger. When someone proposed to repeal the law against selling intoxicating liquor to natives, the king said: "I will never sign the death warrant of my people," and the proposition was defeated.

Kamehameha V believed that a strong native monarchy was the best form of government for Hawaii. He did not like the constitution of 1852. He said it was far ahead of the development of the people and the needs of the country. He thought it gave too much power to the people and put too much restriction on the authority of the king. He did not believe in universal suffrage, but thought the privilege of voting should be granted only to those who had some property and some education, who thereby showed that they were industrious and intelligent. He believed that universal suffrage would eventually lead to the establishment of a republic in Hawaii, and that the republic would end in annexation to the United States. He was afraid of the American influence. He said, "Hawaii has scarcely emerged from a feudal state, and already the American influence pushes us

toward a republic." The king therefore felt that the first and most important thing to do was to revise the constitution of 1852 or to make an entirely new one. It can be said that the political ideas of Kamehameha IV were much like those of Kamehameha V, but the former did not have as much strength of purpose as the latter.

The constitution of 1864. When Kamehameha V was proclaimed king he did not take the oath to maintain the constitution of 1852. Nor did he call the legislature to meet at the customary time (April, 1864). Instead, on May 5, 1864, he issued a proclamation calling for the election of delegates to a convention to consider changes in the constitution. This action aroused a storm of opposition. A convention was not the method of amendment provided for in the constitution, and the opposition declared that it was revolutionary. But the constitutional mode of amendment was too slow to suit the purposes of the king, and the judges of the Supreme Court said that a convention such as the king proposed was a proper body to frame a new constitution. Kamehameha made a tour around the islands, explaining the changes he wished to make. Mr. Wyllie went with him and made a number of speeches, violently attacking the constitution of 1852. These speeches of Mr. Wyllie really hurt the king's cause more than they helped it. The majority of the delegates chosen in the election were opposed to the king's plan.

The convention met July 7, 1864. It was composed of the king, the nobles, and the delegates elected by the people. From the very beginning there were long and bitter debates over nearly every question that was brought up. But the king's party, having the support of most of the nobles, was successful until the convention came to the question of a property qualification for voters. To the king that was the most important point; but the delegates refused to yield. The debate went on for five days. Finally, on August 13, the king made a speech

in which he said that it was useless to spend more time in argument. He then declared that, as the constitution of 1852 had been granted by the king, the king had the right to take it away again. "I therefore take away the constitution of 1852, and I will give you a constitution." The convention was then dismissed.

A week later the king proclaimed a new constitution, which was a revision of the constitution of 1852. It was drawn up by the king with the advice of the cabinet. As might be expected, the new constitution gave the privilege of voting only to those who had a certain amount of property, and who, if born since 1840, were able to read and write. A number of other changes were made the effect of which was to increase greatly the power of the king and make it possible for him to do almost anything he wished with the government.

In spite of the despotic way in which this constitution came into existence, it continued to be the fundamental law of the land for nearly a quarter of a century. The action of the king and his cabinet was bitterly criticized, and it was pointed out that, if the king could give and take away the constitution at his own pleasure, there was no safeguard for the rights of the people. There soon came to be two political parties, one which defended the new constitution and favored the strengthening of the royal power, and one which favored a more liberal government and demanded the restoration of the constitution of 1852. The latter party was particularly bitter against the members of the cabinet and accused them of misleading the king and of using improper methods of controlling the elections. The two parties were not organized like present-day parties and had no distinct names, but the issues between them were clearly defined. In addition to this political struggle an effort was made by some people to create a race issue, to array the natives against the foreigners, particularly against the Americans. As for the king himself, few people doubted that he was an honest man who had no wish to be a tyrant.

Problems. During the reign of Kamehameha V, Hawaii was confronted with some serious problems inherited from preceding years. The native population continued to decrease. Between 1853 and 1866 it dropped from 70,000 to 57,000. Before the end of this reign the whaling industry entered upon its final decline. Agricultural development was still handicapped by a shortage of labor and by the lack of a profitable market. It is true that while the Civil War was in progress in the United States, the Hawaiian sugar industry was greatly stimulated, because the supply of sugar from the Southern states was cut off. The price was high and that made it possible for the island sugar producers to pay the United States tariff duties and still make a good profit. The planters, therefore, proceeded to take advantage of this favorable opportunity. New plantations were started and old ones enlarged. This in turn still further increased the demand for labor. With the fall in prices after the end of the war, the American tariff duties again became a serious obstacle to Hawaiian agriculture.

Labor and population. Kamehameha V came to the throne just at the moment when the sugar industry was feeling the full effect of the stimulus given by the Civil War. About three months after the accession of the new king a Planters' Society was organized, whose main purpose seems to have been to solve the labor problem. It was the policy of the government to encourage the growth of agriculture on which the future of the country depended; therefore, as soon as the new ministry was organized in 1864, attention was given to the needs of the planters. There was considerable difference of opinion among the planters as to the country from which laborers should be brought. Practically all who had been imported up to this time were Chinese, and they had not been entirely satisfactory. During the preceding four years very few had been brought in. The government wished to coöperate with the planters, but was determined to exercise some control in order to protect the native population.

The king and his advisers were anxious to bring in immigrants who would readily assimilate with the Hawaiians and thereby strengthen and perpetuate the native race. The planters wished to have a continuous supply of good laborers at a low cost. The question was whether these two objects could be reconciled. There were believed to be five principal sources of supply: the South Sea Islands (Polynesia), Malaysia, India, Japan, and China. The government looked with greatest favor upon the first three; the planters were inclined to favor India and China. It was recognized by all that an abundant and cheap supply of laborers could easily be gotten from China, but both the government and the planters wished to try some other source of supply. Europe was thought of, but the difficulty and expense of bringing laborers from there were considered too great.

In December, 1864, a law was passed creating a Bureau of Immigration, "for the purpose of superintending the importation of foreign laborers, and the introduction of immigrants." This Bureau immediately took steps to encourage the bringing of South Sea islanders to Hawaii. In April, 1865, the Bureau sent Dr. William Hillebrand as a special immigration commissioner to the Orient. He was instructed to go first to China and to send back five hundred Chinese coolies, who were to be selected with great care. He was then to proceed to the East Indies (India and Malaysia) to investigate the possibility of obtaining from there a desirable class of laborers. Dr. Hillebrand faithfully carried out these instructions. Before the end of 1865 coolies to the number of more than five hundred arrived from China as the result of arrangements made by him. Neither at this time nor later was it found practical to obtain laborers from India or Malaysia.

In 1868 the Hawaiian consul in Japan arranged to have laborers sent from that country, and one hundred forty-eight Japanese arrived during the summer of that year. But after that no more laborers came from Japan for nearly twenty years. During the

session of the legislature in 1868 a law was passed to promote the introduction of Polynesians, and the sum of $36,000 was appropriated for that purpose.

The work of the Bureau of Immigration was supplemented by the efforts of private parties, who from time to time received permission from the Bureau to import laborers. During the nine years of the reign of Kamehameha V a little over two thousand immigrant laborers (men, women, and children) were brought to Hawaii. Of this number nearly seventeen hundred were Chinese and about two hundred were South Sea islanders. The expense of bringing in these laborers, amounting to $120,000, was divided about equally between the government and the planters. The laborers were hired out to the planters under contracts for periods of three, four, or five years.

The effort put forth during this reign did not solve either the problem of labor or the problem of population. Between 1866 and 1872 the number of native Hawaiians continued to decrease, and in the latter year the total was less then 50,000. The planters were still calling for more laborers. In 1872, the last year of the reign of Kamehameha V, the subjects of *labor* and *population* were very live topics of discussion in the Hawaiian kingdom.

Striving for reciprocity. The period of the Civil War in the United States (1861–1865) was one of great prosperity for the sugar planters of Hawaii. Under the stimulus of high prices, the production of sugar increased by leaps and bounds. In 1860 the amount of sugar exported was less than 1,500,000 pounds. In 1865 it was more than 15,000,000 pounds. But the drop in prices after the close of the war brought on a severe crisis in the business of the islands. Relief was needed, and this fact brought to the front the question of a reciprocity treaty with the United States.

During the winter of 1866–1867, General E. M. McCook, United States minister resident in Hawaii, visited Washington. While

there he sought and obtained from the secretary of state, Mr. Seward, authority to negotiate a reciprocity treaty. At the very moment of Mr. McCook's departure from Honolulu, some of the sugar planters asked the Hawaiian government to make another effort to secure such a treaty. After careful consideration, it was decided to send the minister of finance, C. C. Harris, to the United States with instructions to study the situation and, if possible, to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity, that is, a treaty that should be of mutual benefit to both nations. As chance would have it, Mr. McCook, returning from Washington, and Mr. Harris, on his way thither, met in San Francisco. Each being furnished with the necessary authority, they proceeded to draw up a treaty, which was signed in that city, May 21, 1867. Mr. Harris then continued his journey to Washington, to urge the ratification, or approval, of the treaty, and Mr. McCook returned to Honolulu.

At the islands, the news of the negotiation of a reciprocity treaty was received with joy, though its terms were not all that had been desired. With as little delay as possible the treaty was ratified by the Hawaiian government. At Washington it met a different fate. The treaty was promptly approved by the president and sent to the senate for ratification. At that point many obstacles were in its way: Congress was busy with problems of reconstruction following the Civil War; there was a bitter struggle in progress between President Johnson and Congress; the United States had an enormous debt and there was serious objection to any measure that would cut down the income of the government, as this treaty would do; a reciprocity treaty with Canada had only recently been terminated by the United States; opponents of the Hawaiian treaty argued that the United States would get little or no benefit from it, but would lose a large amount of revenue; they declared that the treaty was drawn in the interest of the sugar planters of Hawaii and the sugar refiners of California. In the Senate a strong

fight was made for the treaty, led by Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. Mr. McCook visited Washington again in the winter of 1867–68 and used his influence in favor of ratification. The Hawaiian government kept a minister at Washington for the same purpose. But it was very hard to get the Senate even to consider the treaty. The subject was postponed from time to time, and did not come to a final vote until June 1, 1870. By that vote the treaty was defeated.

The spread of leprosy. Leprosy is supposed to have been introduced into Hawaii in the reign of Kamehameha III. It is believed that it came from China, and this belief is supported by the common Hawaiian name for leprosy, *Mai Pake* (Chinese disease). At first nothing was done to fight the disease, but its spread over the islands had become so noticeable by the beginning of the reign of Kamehameha V that it created some alarm. In his address to the legislature in October, 1864, the king said, "The increase of leprosy has caused me much anxiety, and is such as to make decisive steps imperative upon us." At this session of the legislature, a law was passed "to prevent the spread of leprosy." In accordance with this law, a receiving station was established at Kalihi, near Honolulu, and a small peninsula on the north side of Molokai was selected as a site for a leper settlement, to which might be sent those lepers who were considered incurable. The policy of separating the lepers from the rest of the population was put into operation. By the end of the reign of Kamehameha V about eight hundred lepers had been removed to the Molokai settlement. Nearly all of these were native Hawaiians.

Death of the king. During the latter part of the year 1872, the king was ill for several months. The fact was not publicly announced, but it was quite generally known. Nevertheless, his death was not expected, and preparations were being made for the proper observance of the royal birthday, on the morning of December 11, when word passed through the city that the king was dying. Before noon he was dead, after a reign of a

little more than nine years. The day of festivity was turned into a day of mourning.

"On the next day the dead king lay in state in the throne-room of the palace, while his ministers, his staff, and the chiefs of the realm kept watch over him, and sombre *kahilis* waving at his head beat a sad and silent dead-march for the crowds of people, subjects and aliens, who continuously filed through the apartment for a curious, farewell glance on the last of the Kamehamehas."[1]

Questions and Exercises

1. After copying them in your notebook, put a minus sign before the statements given below which you think best express Kamehameha V's ideas. Give reasons for your choice. Put a plus sign before those statements which express present practices. Give reasons for your choice. Put a double plus sign before the practice you think most desirable. Give reasons.

a. All men and women over twenty-one years should vote.
b. All men possessing some property should vote.
c. People who cannot read and write should not vote.
d. As the king gives the constitution, the king can change it.
e. The consent of the people is necessary before a change in the constitution can be made.
f. No one should vote who does not possess a certain amount of property.

2. Are the Hawaiian people more like the Chinese, the Japanese, or the Polynesian South Sea islanders? Which of these groups do you think make the best immigrants to the Hawaiian islands? Why? Give arguments on both sides.

3. Argue for and against a reciprocity treaty with the United States. Imagine yourself a sugar planter in the Hawaiian islands and give your reasons for or against the treaty. Imagine yourself a Congressman in Washington and give his arguments for or against.

For Further Reading

Lyman, R. A. — "Recollections of Kamehameha V," in *Third Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society.*

[1] Dole, S. B. — "Thirty Days of Hawaiian History," p. 31, *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society.*

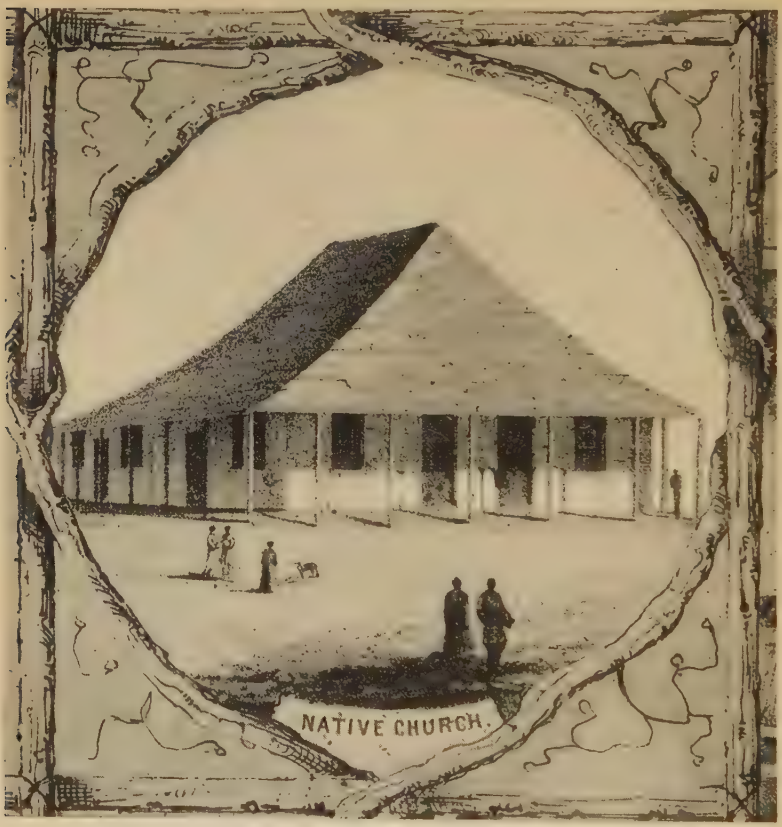
XXI

KINGS BY ELECTION

A vacant throne. The death of Kamehameha V left the kingdom without a king. The late monarch had no direct heir to succeed him on the throne. By the constitution of 1864 his sister, the Princess Victoria Kamamalu, was the next in line of succession, but she had died in 1866. Under these circumstances Kamehameha V had the right, with the consent of the nobles, to appoint his successor; but he had failed to do so. It is true that on his deathbed he had asked the Princess Bernice Pauahi (Mrs. Charles R. Bishop), a direct descendant of Kamehameha I, to succeed him as ruler of the kingdom, but she had refused to accept the appointment. The throne was therefore vacant, and it was the duty of the legislature to elect a new king from among the native *alii*. It was a new and strange situation. Never before had the common people or their elected representatives had anything to say about who should rule over them as *moi*.

Who shall be king? On the day after the king's death the members of the cabinet issued an order calling the legislature to meet on January 8, 1873, for the purpose of electing a new king. There were several possible candidates for the throne, but only two became active candidates — William C. Lunalilo and David Kalakaua. Lunalilo was looked upon as the highest chief by birth in the kingdom. He was well educated and was popular with all classes of the people. He had not, however, been much in favor with the late king. He was liberal in his views and it was known that he did not approve the action of Kamehameha V

in changing the constitution. It was generally believed that he favored American rather than English influence. Kalakaua also belonged to a family of high rank, being a descendant of Keaweaheulu and Kameeiamoku, two of the great chiefs who



Kaumakapili church

aided Kamehameha I in the conquest of the kingdom. Likewise, he was well educated, and had been in public office during the reign of the king who had just died. As between these two *alii*, the choice of the people seemed to rest on Lunalilo. On the

very day after the death of Kamehameha, a mass meeting of natives, held in Kaumakapili church, voted unanimously and enthusiastically that Lunalilo was their choice for king.

Lunalilo's address to the people. A few days later Lunalilo published an address in which he said it was desirable that the people themselves should have a chance to express their views on the question as to who should be king. He wished to submit his claim to their decision, and he recommended that a vote should be taken on January 1, 1873, so that the wishes of the people might be made known. Speaking for himself, he said, "The only pledge that I deem it necessary to offer to the people is that I will restore the constitution of Kamehameha III of happy memory [the constitution of 1852], with only such changes as may be required to adapt it to present laws, and that I will govern the nation according to the principles of that constitution and a liberal constitutional monarchy."

This address of Lunalilo was received with enthusiasm, and preparations were made to hold an election (unofficial, of course), as he recommended. The day after Christmas a large mass meeting was held in Kaumakapili church, at which the candidacy of Lunalilo was indorsed and a committee appointed to make arrangements for the election. A resolution was unanimously adopted "that we the people [of Honolulu] do hereby instruct our four representatives in the Legislative Assembly to vote for Prince W. C. Lunalilo for king, and for no one else."

Kalakaua's address. On December 28, Kalakaua published an address to the people. It was written in the ancient poetical and figurative style and began with the words, "O my people! My countrymen from Old! Arise! This is the voice!" The address of Lunalilo was referred to as "a voice grating on the ear." Kalakaua urged the people not to vote on the first day of January, and made the charge that foreigners were back of Lunalilo. He then gave his own platform, in which he promised, if elected, "to preserve and increase the people, so that they

shall multiply and fill the land with chiefs and common people;" "to repeal all the personal taxes, about which the people complain;" "to put native Hawaiians into government offices, so as to pay off the national debt." He also promised the "amending of the constitution of 1864," but added, "Beware of the constitution of 1852 and the false teachings of the foreigners who are now grasping to obtain the control of the government if W. C. Lunalilo ascends the throne."

Lunalilo

Election of Lunalilo. The address of Kalakaua seemed to fall on deaf ears. When the first day of January came around, the people put aside their ordinary labors and went to the polls to cast their ballots for king, as Lunalilo had recommended. And when the ballots were counted at the end of the day, it was found that the vote was almost unanimous for Lunalilo. A week passed, and then the Legislative Assembly met for the purpose of electing a new king, as the constitution required. The legislative hall was crowded with spectators and a great throng of people surrounded the building. The magic name, Lunalilo, was in the air. Would the legislators confirm the choice of the people? After some prelimi-

naries, the balloting began. One by one the votes were cast. One by one they were counted. The first was for Lunalilo — and so were all of them to the very last! Lunalilo was king! — "the people's king!" On the following day the new sovereign was duly inaugurated in a brilliant ceremony at Kawaiahao church.

Beginning of Lunalilo's reign. After the election of the king the legislature remained in session for a few days. In accordance with his promise, King Lunalilo submitted to the legislature several proposed amendments to the constitution. The most important of these was one to do away with the property qualification for voters. These amendments were approved by the legislature and, as the constitution required, then left to be voted on by the next legislature. On January 10, 1873, the king announced the names of his cabinet ministers. With one exception the new ministers were all of American origin, and two of them came from missionary families. At the time of his election Lunalilo enjoyed a most remarkable popularity among nearly all classes of the population. Unhappily, before the end of his short reign, much of this popularity was lost.

Further efforts for reciprocity. Kamehameha III, Kamehameha IV, and Kamehameha V had each sought to make a reciprocity treaty with the United States. Lunalilo was urged to follow their example. The need for such a treaty was greater than ever before. The business and agricultural interests of the country were in bad condition. This was due to the decline of the whaling industry, the scarcity and high cost of labor for the plantations, the low price of sugar in the San Francisco market, and the high duties which had to be paid on sugar imported into the United States. It was believed that a reciprocity treaty would change the situation and bring prosperity. Annexation to the United States was advocated by some people as the best remedy for the existing state of affairs, but the Hawaiian government and the native population were so opposed to this that it was not worth talking about.

In February, 1873, the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce adopted a resolution asking the king to make another effort to secure a treaty of reciprocity. The subject was discussed in public and in private, in the newspapers, in the meetings of the cabinet, and between the minister of foreign affairs and the United States minister resident. From this discussion it became clear that the United States government would do nothing unless the Hawaiian government had something valuable to offer in exchange for such a treaty. Someone had suggested that Pearl River lagoon might be given to the United States for use as a naval station, and in June the king, upon the advice of his cabinet, consented to have such an offer made. This "Pearl River scheme," as it was called, was opposed by many, particularly by the native Hawaiians. The opposition became so strong as to make it certain that the legislature would not approve a treaty including the cession of Pearl River lagoon to the United States. Therefore, in November, the king withdrew the offer. The United States government had shown little interest in the proposed reciprocity treaty, even with the cession of Pearl River, and the whole project was very soon dropped.

Before this time the planters had begun to ship part of their sugar to Australia and New Zealand in the hope of finding there a new and profitable market. In 1873 the exportation to those countries was greatly increased and the possibility of reciprocity with Australia and New Zealand became a topic of discussion.

Fighting leprosy. The steps taken during the preceding reign to prevent the spread of leprosy had not been entirely successful. The settlement on Molokai had been made as comfortable and attractive as possible, and the lepers confined there were well treated. But this policy of segregation had not been completely carried out. There were many lepers still at large. The natives did not realize how terrible the disease was. Being sent to Molokai seemed to many of them like a death sentence. Lepers

were concealed by their families and friends, and this, of course, caused the disease to spread still more.

During the reign of Lunalilo, the Board of Health made a vigorous effort to enforce the law and to separate all of the lepers from the rest of the population. Nearly five hundred were taken to the Molokai settlement during the year 1873. This was a very much larger number than had ever before been sent there in a single year. The enforcement of the law was a disagreeable and painful duty, but it was necessary in order to protect those who were free from the disease. One unfortunate result was a feeling of bitterness and opposition to the government.

Mutiny at the barracks. During the early part of September an episode occurred which for a time threatened to be serious. This was a mutiny among what were called the Household Troops. These troops were the military force of the kingdom, but their duties ordinarily amounted to little more than standing guard over some of the government buildings and serving as an escort of honor to the king. Their chief officers were a drillmaster, who was an Austrian named Captain Jajczay, and an adjutant general, who had charge of supplies and equipment. Captain Jajczay was a strict disciplinarian and was not liked by the soldiers. They also claimed to have some grievance against the adjutant general.

One day when Captain Jajczay tried to punish some of the men for a serious neglect of duty, they made an attack upon him but were prevented from causing any serious injury. That was the beginning of the mutiny which lasted for five days. The mutineers had possession of the barracks on Palace Walk (now Hotel Street), and during the first night they brought over several cannon from the palace grounds and prepared to hold their position. They said they would not return to their duties until the drillmaster and adjutant general were dismissed. Many of the native Hawaiians sympathized with them, and it was feared that an attack on the barracks would lead to riot, bloodshed, and possibly even to civil war.

During this time King Lunalilo was ill at his cottage at Waikiki. He was the commander-in-chief of the troops, and, after other efforts had failed, the settlement of the difficulty was referred to him. On the fourth day the king talked to some of the soldiers who came to see him. The next morning he sent a letter, telling the men to obey the laws, leave the barracks, and return to their homes; if they did so, he would forgive their disobedience. The soldiers did as the king told them and thus the mutiny was ended. On the following day the king issued an order disbanding the Household Troops.

Illness and death of the king. Before he had been on the throne more than half a year, Lunalilo was stricken with tuberculosis. Under the attack of that disease the king failed rapidly. In November he was taken to Kailua, Hawaii, in hope that the change of climate would effect an improvement in his condition. When he returned to Honolulu two months later, it was clear that he could not live much longer. The end came on the third of February, 1874, a year and twenty-five days after his accession to the throne. The remains of this good king rest in the mausoleum in Kawaiahao churchyard. But his best monument is the Lunalilo Home for poor, aged, and infirm Hawaiians, which was established under the terms of his will.

Election of Kalakaua. The death of Lunalilo left the throne vacant for a second time. He had never married and therefore had no direct heir. He had been repeatedly and strongly advised to appoint his successor in the constitutional manner; but like Kamehameha V, he had failed to do so. It was, therefore, again necessary for the legislature to elect a king. The cabinet appointed February 12, 1874, nine days after the death of Lunalilo, as the time for the Legislative Assembly to meet for this purpose.

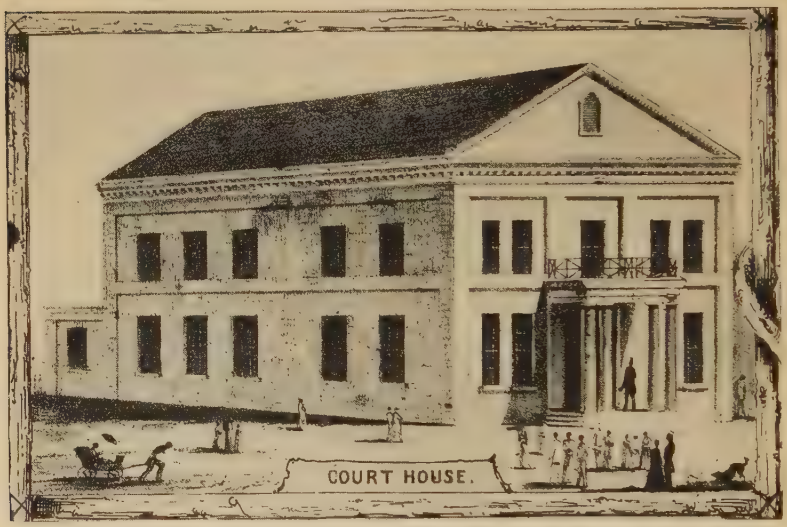
While Lunalilo was still living, there was much discussion as to who would be the next king. Among the male *alii* of the kingdom David Kalakaua was quite generally conceded to have the strongest claim. His cause was taken up by the newspapers,

which asserted that he was as surely the choice of the people as Lunalilo had been the year before. But, as events showed, this was not quite true. On February 4 Kalakaua formally announced that he was a candidate for the kingship. On the next day a similar announcement was made by Queen Dowager Emma, the widow of Kamehameha IV, who claimed that she was the real choice of the late King Lunalilo. Soon after the death of her husband Queen Emma had made a visit to England and other foreign countries, and since her return she had been living quietly, devoting herself to works of benevolence. She was loved and respected by natives and foreigners alike; but many people did not like the idea of making her the sovereign of the kingdom. One newspaper said, "The Hawaiian people will love her as a benefactress and hate her as a politician."

In the short campaign which followed, Queen Emma won the support of many of the natives, mainly on Oahu. The English element, very naturally, were favorable to her cause. The greater part of the foreigners, including nearly all the Americans, were for Kalakaua. He also had a strong following among the natives, more especially on the outer islands. When the Legislative Assembly met, thirty-nine of the members voted for Kalakaua and six for Queen Emma. Kalakaua was therefore declared elected, and he took the oath of office as king of Hawaii at noon of February 13, 1874. In order to prevent the possibility of the throne again becoming vacant, King Kalakaua immediately appointed and proclaimed his younger brother, William Pitt Leleiohoku, as his heir.

The election riot. While the election was in progress in the courthouse, the building was surrounded by a great crowd of people, composed mainly of the supporters of Queen Emma. As soon as the vote was taken, a committee was appointed to notify Kalakaua of his election. The members of the committee, on attempting to leave the courthouse, were attacked by the crowd and some of them wounded before they could get back

into the building. The mob then forced its way into the building and destroyed furniture, books, and papers in the various offices. The native members of the legislature were assaulted and many of them cut and bruised. In this emergency, in order to prevent further destruction of property and possible loss of life, the newly elected king, the minister of foreign affairs, and the gover-



From the lithograph by Emmert, published in 1854.

The Court House

nor of Oahu asked the American minister and the British commissioner to land marines from the warships *Tuscarora*, *Portsmouth*, and *Tenedos*, which were anchored in the harbor. This request was promptly granted and by nightfall order was restored. The following day Queen Emma acknowledged Kalakaua as king and advised her followers to do the same. The American and British marines remained on shore for about a week, at the end of which time it was considered safe for them to return to their ships.

Questions and Exercises

1. Copy in your notebook, filling in the blanks:
   a. Kamehameha I became king of Hawaii by ——
   b. Until the time of Lunalilo the rulers were —— —— the king.
   c. Lunalilo and Kalakaua were —— kings by the ——. Give the good points of each method stated above; the bad points of each. Which is the most democratic? Least democratic? Does the way in which the governor gets his position to-day most resemble that described in *a*, *b*, or *c*? Are all governors chosen in this way? Why is ours so chosen? The method by which the governor of Hawaii gets his position has both good and bad points. Indicate both.
2. For what good work is Lunalilo remembered?
3. What were the effects of each of the following on the agriculture of the Hawaiian islands? Show how these effects came about.
   a. Duty laid on sugar by the United States.
   b. Refusal of the United States to accept Pearl River and grant reciprocity.
   c. Lack of import duties in Australia.
4. The question of a tariff is a very complicated one, as you have seen in United States history.
   a. If you had owned stock in a Hawaiian plantation seventy-five years ago, would you have wished a high United States tariff on sugar? Why?
   b. If you owned stock to-day in a sugar plantation in Hawaii, would you wish a high tariff on sugar? Why?
   c. If you had a wheat farm in Nebraska, would you wish a high tariff on sugar? Why?
   d. From the above can you give reasons why all people do not agree about the tariff?

For Further Reading

Dole, S. B. — "Thirty Days of Hawaiian History," in *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society.*

XXII

CHANGES DURING A THIRD OF A CENTURY

(1840–1874)

With the election of Kalakaua a new dynasty came to the throne of Hawaii. In that sense it was the beginning of a new political era. It was the beginning of a new era in some other respects also — economic and social. After 1874 events hurry on rapidly toward the end of the monarchy. The death of Lunalilo came just at the end of a third of a century of constitutional government, thirty-three and a half years after the granting of the constitution of 1840. During this third of a century many important changes had taken place in economic and social conditions in Hawaii.

Population. In 1840 the total population of the islands was about 100,000. By 1872, a year in which the census was taken, the total had shrunk to little more than half, being less than 57,000. This meant deserted villages, abandoned taro patches, and schools and churches becoming smaller and fewer year by year. In 1840 there were less than a thousand foreigners, that is, less than one per cent of the whole population. In 1872 there were more than 5,000 foreigners, nearly ten per cent of the whole population. Of these foreigners, in 1872, more than a third were Chinese; a little more than half were of Caucasian blood. The tragic fact of Hawaiian history is this wasting away of the original dwellers in the land, and their gradual replacement by alien races.

It was not merely the common people who were decreasing in number. The same thing was true of the chiefly families.

During this period of thirty-three years the nation had been called to mourn the death of four kings. The house of Kamehameha was almost extinct. There remained, indeed, only a handful of chiefs of high rank. In 1841 occurred the death of Kapiolani, who had defied the goddess Pele; in 1844, Governor Kuakini; in 1845, Kekauluohi, kuhina nui and mother of Lunalilo; in 1855, Paki, father of Princess Bernice Pauahi (Mrs. Bishop); in 1868, Kekuanaoa, father of two kings and one of the grand old men of Hawaii. Most of the foreigners who helped the old chiefs to organize the government had also passed off the stage. In 1847 occurred the death of Richards; in 1857, that of Lee; in 1860, Armstrong; in 1865, Wyllie; in 1873, Dr. Judd.

Education. Up to 1841 the work of education was carried on by the missionaries without any aid from the government. In that year a general school law was passed, which provided for the organization of the common schools and their support by the people. This simply meant that the government would take over the work of primary education from the missionaries as fast as it could. The school department was organized in 1846, when William Richards was appointed minister of public instruction. For a long time the common schools were divided into Protestant schools and Catholic schools, but after 1854 this separation on account of religion gradually ceased to exist.

At first the government took over only the common schools, taught in the Hawaiian language by native teachers. Besides these common schools, there were several "select schools," that is, schools of higher grade than the common schools, such as the school for the young chiefs, which was supported by the government, the Oahu Charity School, supported by the foreign residents of Honolulu, and the boarding schools, such as Lahainaluna Seminary, Hilo Boarding School, and Punahou School, conducted by the Protestant missionaries, and a number of boarding schools carried on by the Catholics. It was the policy of the government to take over the support of these select schools as

rapidly as it could, either by making them government schools or by paying part of their expenses. In 1849 Lahainaluna Seminary was transferred to the government, and not long afterwards the Oahu Charity School became a government school, supported by a special tax on foreigners. Its name was changed to the Honolulu Free School.

The number of select schools increased from year to year. In 1849 there were 13 select schools, with about 500 pupils; in 1874 there were 46 such schools, with more than 2,000 pupils. But the number of common schools steadily decreased. In 1849 there were 540 common schools, with about 15,000 pupils; in 1874 there were only 242 common schools, with less than 8,000 pupils. This decrease was due chiefly to the falling off of the native population, but in part to the fact that more children attended the select schools where they could get a better education.

One interesting development during this period was the increasing study of the English language by Hawaiian children. In 1854 a special law was passed "for the encouragement and support of English schools for Hawaiian youths." By 1874 nearly a fourth of all the school children in the kingdom were studying English. That language was taught in all the select schools, but not in the common schools. The common schools were free, but a small tuition fee was charged in the government English schools.

Another important development was the greater attention paid to the proper education of Hawaiian girls. This was strongly recommended as early as 1855 and again in 1858 by Mr. Armstrong, who was at the head of the school department. Beginning about that time, "family schools" and seminaries were established for the training of girls, and these received some financial assistance from the government.

In general it may be said that by 1874 there was a great improvement in the schools of the kingdom; there were better

From the lithograph by Emmert.

The business part of Honolulu in 1853

schoolhouses, better trained and better paid teachers, better books, and a better course of study. But even at that they still fell far short of the highest standards.

Industry. In 1840 the economic prosperity of Hawaii was mainly dependent upon the visits of the whalers. That industry, as we have already seen, grew rapidly, reached its zenith about 1859, and then dropped off to a position of minor importance. The production of sugar took its place as the dominant industry, and, long before the beginning of Kalakaua's reign, was the main resource of the islands. For a long time coffee was second in importance as an agricultural product, although it was greatly hindered by the coffee tree blight. About 1862 the rice industry came to be second in importance, and coffee dropped back to third place.

The first serious attempt to produce rice was made in 1858 on the experimental farm of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society by H. Holstein. The experiment was made with rice seed from the East Indies and was not very successful. Two years later Mr. Holstein obtained and planted rice from South Carolina. This gave promise of success, and in 1861 a veritable craze for rice planting swept over the islands. In many places taro was pulled up and rice planted in its stead. This came near causing a taro famine for a year or two. In 1862 the quantity of rice and paddy, or unhusked rice, exported was more than 900,000 pounds. In 1874 it exceeded 1,600,000 pounds. The quantity produced was even greater, a considerable amount being consumed in the islands. After the first few years this industry was carried on mainly by the Chinese.

Commerce. In spite of the steadily decreasing population Hawaii became more and more important as a commercial center. This is shown most clearly by an examination of statistics of imports, exports, and customhouse receipts. In 1844, the first year for which there are reliable figures, the value of goods imported was $350,000; in 1874 it was $1,300,000. The value

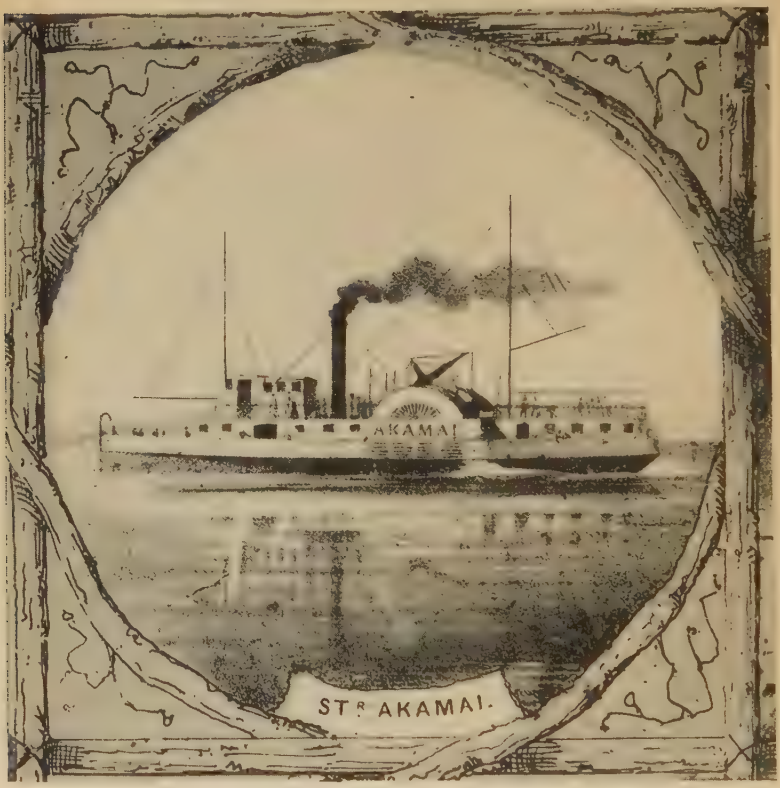
of goods exported in 1844 was $170,000; in 1874, $1,840,000. In 1844 the receipts at the customhouse were $14,000; in 1874, $184,000. We must also take into consideration the fact that business was poor in 1874; it had been much better during the preceding ten years.

One very important indication of the economic strength of a country is the annual "trade balance," that is, the difference in money value between the value of imports and exports. If imports are larger than exports, the trade balance is said to be against the country; but if exports are greater than imports, the trade balance is in favor of the country. In 1844 and for many years the trade balance was very heavily against the Hawaiian islands. It was not until 1869 that it was turned in their favor. The change at that time was due mainly to the growth of the sugar industry.

Transportation. In 1840 transportation, both interisland and to foreign lands, was more or less irregular and was carried on entirely in small sailing vessels. As years passed, larger and faster ships were put into use and something like a regular service was established. The final improvement in this kind of transportation came with the advent of the "clippers," in a regular packet line between Honolulu and San Francisco — fine sailers like the *Restless*, *Yankee*, *Fanny Major*, *Comet*, *Smyrniote*, and *D. C. Murray*. Perhaps the most famous sailing vessels in the interisland service were the *Emma Rooke* and the *Nettie Merrill*, both of which were built in New England and arrived at the islands in the spring of 1860. A race between these two schooners soon after their arrival created great excitement.

But at best sailing vessels were slow and uncertain, and people dreamed of the day when there would be steamers running between the different islands of the group and between Hawaii and foreign lands. By 1874 this dream had come true. First were the interisland steamers. Just at the end of 1851 and beginning of 1852 a steamer came down from California and made one

round trip between Honolulu and Lahaina. In 1853 the Hawaiian Steam Navigation Company was organized in San Francisco and established a more or less regular interisland service which continued for a little over two years. The *Akamai* was



The Steamer *Akamai*

the first steamer used by this company. After the failure of this enterprise the government proposed to go into the steamship business, either directly or by giving aid to private parties, but was slow in getting started.

The Honolulu firm of C. A. Williams and Company built the

steamer *Kilauea* and put it into service in the summer of 1860. This famous vessel had an interesting history — frequently changing owners because she rarely paid expenses — run on the rocks several times — pulled off, repaired, and put back into service — at one time laid up more than a year — for seventeen years a familiar and welcome visitor in the ports of the islands. Most of the time the government had an interest in the *Kilauea*, and in the later years was the sole owner.

Steamers to and from San Francisco and Australia followed within a few years. Just as in the case of the interisland steamers, the subject was discussed for a long time before a regular service was established. In 1854 two round trips were made by steamers from San Francisco, and twelve years later the steamer *Ajax* made two round trips. In the following year (1867) the *Idaho* began what proved to be a practically continuous steam service to San Francisco. In 1870 a steamer came from Australia as the pioneer from that direction. After that year, though steamers and companies often changed, Hawaii was never for very long without steamer connection with the Pacific Coast of America and the Australian colonies.

Honolulu in 1874. In 1840 Honolulu and Lahaina were the leading towns in the kingdom. By 1874 the importance of Honolulu had greatly increased, that of Lahaina had decreased. Wailuku had become the leading town on Maui, and Hilo had taken the place of Lahaina as the second town in the kingdom. Honolulu was the seat of government, the center of trade and of intellectual and religious activity — in short, it was the metropolis of the country. It had about one fourth of the whole population of the nation, and one half of the foreigners.

A great change had taken place in the appearance of Honolulu. Travelers who visited the islands about 1874 spoke of this city as an oasis of green trees, shrubs, and flowers. One of them writes that the town "looks small and insignificant from the harbor, but on going ashore . . . we get glimpses of fine public

buildings and numerous shops and stores, of neat houses nestling among bowers of shrubs and flowers, and evidences of a busy trade and considerable population." Another one speaks of Honolulu as "nestling among cocoanut trees and bananas, umbrella trees and breadfruits, oranges, mangoes, hibiscus, algaroba, and passion flowers, almost hidden in the deep, dense greenery." Practically all of these trees and shrubs had grown up within the preceding twenty-five or thirty years.

The town was spreading out in all directions, but Waikiki and Manoa and Kalihi were still a long way off. A great improvement was to be seen in the dwelling houses and in the stores and public buildings. Indeed, many of the buildings of that day, both public and private, are still standing. Kawaiahao church rose conspicuously on the eastern edge of town, with the mission houses just beyond. Nearer the business district was the imposing government building, Aliiolani Hale, now the Judiciary Building, which had just been completed. Another new building was the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, built by the government for the accommodation of tourists and travelers and occupied in recent years by the Army and Navy Y. M. C. A.

In the harbor and along the waterfront important changes had been made. The harbor had been deepened by dredging. A long seawall had been built, lined with wharves and warehouses. The reef below the fort had been filled up, thus adding a valuable piece of land to the waterfront area. The fort had disappeared. That historic structure had long ago ceased to have any practical value as a fort, and the ground on which it stood was needed for other purposes. In 1852 the legislature passed a resolution directing the minister of the interior to tear down the fort, and this was done in 1857. The coral blocks were used in building the seawall.

One feature of Honolulu life noticed by all visitors in that period was the almost universal habit of riding horses. This was particularly true of the natives. The Hawaiians had become

a nation of horseback riders. The following description is taken from a letter written in 1873: "Saturday afternoon is a gala day here. . . . The women seemed perfectly at home in their gay, brass-bossed, high-peaked saddles, flying along astride, barefooted, with their orange and scarlet riding dresses streaming on each side beyond their horses' tails, a bright kaleidoscopic flash of bright eyes, white teeth, shining hair, garlands of flowers, and many-colored dresses; while the men were hardly less gay, with fresh flowers round their jaunty hats, and the vermilion-colored blossoms of the *Ohia* round their throats. Sometimes a troop of twenty of these . . . female riders went by at a time, a graceful and exciting spectacle."

Questions and Exercises

1. Whenever a new civilization is forced upon a primitive people, there is commonly a decline in population. The following list gives possible causes. Discuss those which you think have most affected the Hawaiian people. Compare them with the reasons which caused the Indian population of North America to decrease.

a. Battles and wars.
b. Disease.
c. Destruction of the food supply.
d. Rapid imposing of a culture which fails to meet the needs of the primitive people.
e. Customs of dressing and living.
f. Introduction of liquor.
g. Taking of homes and land from the original owners.
h. Forcing the natives to do hard and uncongenial work.
i. Destruction of the forests.
j. Killing wild animals which furnished food and clothing.

2. Many changes in the schools are described in this chapter. Name them. Which is the most important?

3. Describe Honolulu as it was in 1874. We notice some of these features to-day. What are they? What are some of the features of Honolulu which particularly charm strangers who come here to-day?

4. Discuss the changes in agriculture, trade and commerce described in this chapter. What shows that trade and commerce are increasing to-day?

XXIII

RECIPROCITY AND ITS EFFECTS

Another attempt to secure a reciprocity treaty. As soon as Kalakaua was firmly seated on the throne, the question of a reciprocity treaty with the United States was again raised. The king mentioned the subject in his speech at the opening of the legislature in 1874. The planters presented a petition, and the legislature passed an "act to facilitate the negotiation of a treaty of reciprocity." E. H. Allen, chief justice of the Supreme Court, told the king and cabinet that he thought the matter so important that nothing should be left undone to secure a treaty. He advised the king himself to visit Washington, as that would have a favorable influence. It was decided also to send Chief Justice Allen and H. A. P. Carter to the United States to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity, if that was possible. These envoys departed for San Francisco in the middle of October on their way to Washington.

Elisha H. Allen

King Kalakaua's visit to the United States. Just a month later, the king sailed for San Francisco on the United States warship *Benicia*, as the guest of the American government. He was accompanied by Governor John O. Dominis of Oahu, Governor John M. Kapena of Maui, and Henry A. Peirce, the United States minister to Hawaii. This visit of Kalakaua to the United States occurred just half a century after the visit of Kamehameha II to England. That earlier visit was made for the purpose of strengthening the ties of friendship between Hawaii and England; this later visit was for the purpose of drawing closer the relations between Hawaii and the United States. Kalakaua was the first king who had ever visited the United States from any country, and he was everywhere accorded all the honors due to the ruler of a friendly, independent nation. In Washington he was received in state by President U. S. Grant, and all the members of Congress were formally presented to him. The king afterwards visited New York, Boston, and other places in New England, among them New Bedford, to which port belonged hundreds of the whaleships so familiar to the people of Hawaii in earlier years. In all these places Kalakaua and his party

Henry A. P. Carter

made a most favorable impression. From San Francisco he returned to Honolulu on the United States warship *Pensacola*, arriving at home on February 15, 1875, after an absence of three months.

The reciprocity treaty. In the meanwhile the negotiation of a treaty was going on between the Hawaiian envoys, Messrs. Allen and Carter, and the American secretary of state, Hamilton Fish. The treaty was completed and signed January 30, 1875, and approved by the United States Senate a month and a half later. In Hawaii, it was ratified by King Kalakaua April 17, 1875. One clause of the treaty provided that it should not go into effect until a law had been passed by Congress to carry it into operation. Such a law was passed in 1876. The Hawaiian legislature also passed an act to carry the treaty into effect, and it finally went into operation September 9, 1876. That was an important day in the history of Hawaii.

What the treaty provided. The treaty was not very long. It provided that unrefined sugar, rice, and practically all Hawaiian products should be admitted into the United States without having to pay any tariff duty. In return it provided that a long list of products and manufactured goods from the United States should be admitted free into Hawaii. There was one other very important clause by which the king of Hawaii agreed that as long as this treaty remained in effect he would not make the same kind of a treaty with any other nation, and that he would not "lease or otherwise dispose of . . . any port, harbor, or other territory in his dominions, or grant any special privilege or rights of use therein, to any other power, state, or government." This clause was proposed by the United States, and it is quite certain that, without it, the treaty could not have been made. The treaty was to continue for at least seven years. At any time after the end of seven years it could be terminated by either Hawaii or the United States, on giving one year's notice.

Why the United States made the treaty. Before 1875 the United States had almost a monopoly of the trade of Hawaii. There was a large amount of American money invested in the islands, particularly in sugar plantations. American influence was very strong. But there were also a good many English people here and they were trying to build up English influence. The sugar planters were having a hard time because of the American tariff duties. They were therefore looking around for some better market than San Francisco. In 1873 they sent more than a third of their sugar to Australia, New Zealand, and British Columbia, and it was reported to the American government that they were planning to send the whole crop of 1875–76 to those places. If they did this, the United States would lose the trade of the islands, and Hawaii would soon drift toward Great Britain. To prevent any such result, the United States was willing to make a reciprocity treaty. The visit of King Kalakaua to the United States helped the matter along, by increasing the friendly interest of the American people.

Effect of the treaty. The effect of the reciprocity treaty on the principal agricultural enterprises of Hawaii was amazing. In less than four years the production of sugar and rice was more than doubled. In fifteen years the amount of sugar exported annually increased to more than ten times what it was in 1875. In 1875 twenty-five million pounds of sugar were shipped from the country; in 1890, more than two hundred and fifty million pounds. This development of the sugar industry was more than anyone had even dreamed of in the old days before reciprocity. Many people in the United States did not believe that Hawaii could raise so much sugar in such a short time; and some of them charged that the people of Hawaii were bringing sugar from other countries and sending it to the United States as Hawaiian sugar. But an investigation was made and it was found that all this sugar was actually produced in the islands.

How was this great development brought about? Two things

were necessary, capital and labor. Now that a good market was assured, men were not afraid to put their money into sugar enterprises. A large amount of capital was brought to the islands, principally from the United States, and invested in sugar plantations, sugar mills, and irrigation projects. A striking example is the case of Claus Spreckels. Mr. Spreckels was a wealthy sugar refiner of California who was opposed to the reciprocity treaty before it was made. As soon as the treaty went into operation Spreckels came to Hawaii, put a large amount of money into sugar, and reaped a large profit on his investment. But by far the greater part of this development was due to the faith and energy of business men who had established themselves in Hawaii before the days of the reciprocity boom.

One of the first effects of the treaty was a great increase in the importation of machinery for sugar mills. The iron works of Honolulu were likewise called on to increase their output. New and improved methods of operation were devised and put into use. In 1882 the Planters' Labor and Supply Company was organized. This company was the forerunner of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, and was formed to promote the interests of the planters and to furnish a means of coöperation among them. In the same year they began the publication of the *Planters' Monthly* under the editorial direction of S. B. Dole, W. R. Castle, and W. O. Smith.

The Hamakua ditch. One of the ways in which the production of sugar was promoted was through the building of large irrigation projects. Irrigation had been tried in a small way before this time, the first plantation ditch having been dug as early as 1857 at Lihue, Kauai. But it was after the making of the reciprocity treaty that the big ditches were constructed. The first one was the Hamakua ditch on Maui. In 1876 S. T. Alexander and H. P. Baldwin had a small plantation at Paia. They formed a plan for bringing water from the wet northern slopes of Mount Haleakala to the dry plains of central Maui by means of a ditch.

The possibility of doing this had been talked about for several years, but up to this time the matter had not gone any farther than that. With a few other men, Alexander and Baldwin obtained a lease from the government and borrowed the money with which to finance the project. It was an immense undertaking for that day, costing about $80,000. The ditch runs through an exceedingly rough district, cut by deep gorges; to get past some of these gorges it was necessary to lay heavy pipes down each side and across the bottom, making an inverted siphon.

"When the ditch builders came to the last great obstacle, the deep gorge of Maliko, it became necessary, in connection with the laying of the pipe down and up the sides of the precipices there encountered, for the workmen to lower themselves over the cliffs by rope, hand over hand. This at first they absolutely refused to do. The crisis was serious. Mr. Baldwin met it by himself sliding down the rope, using his legs and his one arm, with which he alternately gripped and released the rope to take a fresh hold lower down. . . . The workmen were so shamed by this exhibition of courage on the part of their one-armed manager that they did not hesitate to follow him down the rope. To keep the heart in them and to watch the progress of the work, Mr. Baldwin day after day went through this dangerous performance." [1]

When completed, the Hamakua ditch was seventeen miles long, with a daily capacity of forty million gallons. Not long afterwards Claus Spreckels dug a ditch in the same region, below the Hamakua ditch. The Spreckels ditch was thirty miles long with a capacity of fifty million gallons daily. A few years later a third ditch was dug, on the other side of the plain. The result of all this activity is that the once barren plain of central Maui has been turned into a great field of sugar cane. Maui took the lead in ditch digging, but the other islands have since followed her example, with the same profitable results.

[1] Baldwin, Arthur D. — *A Memoir of Henry Perrine Baldwin*, pp. 40–41.

Labor, population, immigration. The great development of agriculture could not have been brought about without a great increase in the labor supply. This brought to the front again the question of immigration. The population of the islands was at its lowest point about 1875. Before the next census was taken in 1878, it had begun to increase. But this was not because the native Hawaiians increased — they continued to decrease — but because of the coming in of aliens to supply the labor needs of the country. Since 1875 the population has grown steadily and at a fairly rapid rate; but it has changed greatly in character. In 1878 the native Hawaiians were 82 per cent of the whole population; in 1890 they were less than one half.

After the reciprocity treaty went into operation the need of more workers rapidly became serious. The planters wanted cheap labor; the government wanted immigrants who would assimilate with the people already here, or who would at any rate be desirable citizens. During the next fourteen years (1877–1890) more than 55,000 immigrant laborers came to Hawaii. Half of these were Chinese, who came without asking. This great influx of Chinese became a matter of alarm. It was feared that if it continued Hawaii would become a Chinese colony, and her Hawaiian-Anglo-Saxon civilization would be supplanted by an Oriental civilization. The government took several steps to prevent such a result. It set up severe restrictions against the Chinese; and it made a strong effort to bring in immigrants from other countries, particularly from the Portuguese islands and from Japan. The Portuguese immigration proved to be very expensive from the financial point of view and had to be given up after a few years. This was unfortunate, since the Portuguese have proved to be good and useful citizens. The Japanese government at first did not wish to permit its people to come to Hawaii, but was finally persuaded to do so; in 1886 it made a treaty with Hawaii on the subject. During this period also a

number of immigrants were brought in from Germany, Scandinavia, and the South Sea islands.

Hawaii was fast getting ready to be a melting pot of the races. By the census of 1890 the population of the kingdom was about 90,000. Of this number, 41,000 were Hawaiians, 15,000 Chinese, 12,000 Japanese, 9,000 Portuguese, 2,000 Americans, 1,000 Germans, and 1,300 British.

Samuel G. Wilder

Steamships and railroads. The rapid development of the sugar and rice industries required a great improvement in the means of transportation throughout the kingdom. In 1877 the government had the steamer *Likelike* built in San Francisco. This ship and the old *Kilauea* were sold to S. G. Wilder, who soon after organized the Wilder Steamship Company and put several other steamers into service. Steamers were also introduced by T. H. Hobron, T. R. Foster, and others, and in 1882 the Inter-Island Steam Navigation Company was organized to compete with the Wilder Steamship Company. In 1890 the two companies had fourteen steamers, some of them quite small, in operation. In 1905 these companies were consolidated to form the present Inter-Island Steam Navigation Company.

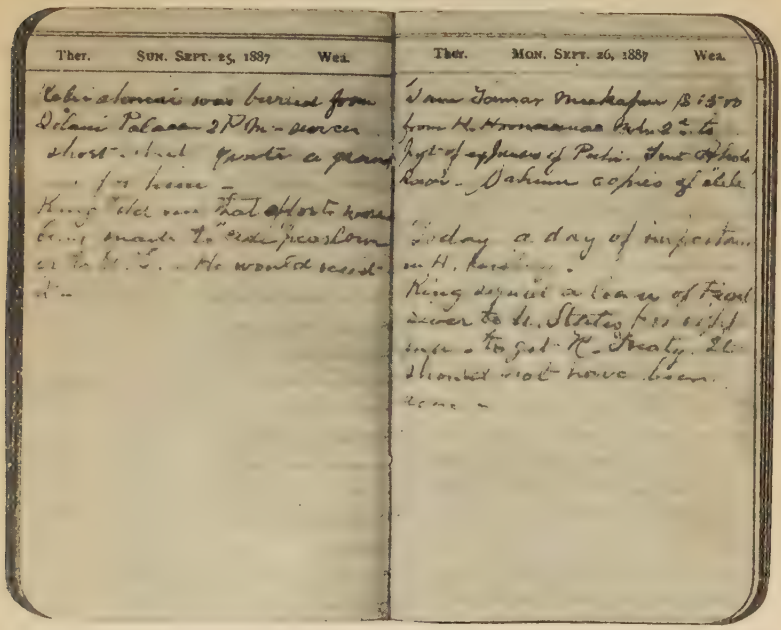
Besides the steamers there came to be a large fleet of sailing ships of the schooner type engaged in the interisland trade and in the carrying trade between the islands and foreign countries. Ships were constantly coming and going between the different ports of the kingdom. This made it easier for people to get about, both for business and for pleasure. It also made Hawaii more accessible and more attractive to tourists, who came to the islands in growing numbers year by year.

The sea was Hawaii's principal highway. Here it was as important to build a ship as it was to build a road in continental countries. But even here the development of the agricultural resources of the country made it necessary to improve the means of communication on land. The government was called upon to spend large sums of money in building roads and bridges. The work of railroad construction was undertaken by men of energy and foresight, and before the end of the reign of Kalakaua there were three railroads in operation on the islands of Maui, Hawaii, and Oahu.

Extension of the treaty — Pearl River grant. By the terms of the reciprocity treaty it could be brought to an end by action of either the United States or Hawaii at any time after September 9, 1883, either country giving twelve months' notice to the other country. It was certain that Hawaii would not wish to end the treaty, but there were many people in the United States who did wish to do so. They declared that Hawaii got all the benefit from the treaty, and that there were great evils connected with it. Dozens of petitions were presented to Congress, asking for the abrogation of the treaty. It began to look as if the United States would not be willing to let the treaty go on after 1883, although the president and his cabinet were understood to be in favor of it.

The Hawaiian government proposed that the treaty be formally extended for seven years longer. The president of the United States referred this proposition to the Senate for its

advice, and that body advised the extension, but only under certain conditions. An agreement was then made between the two governments by which the treaty was extended for seven years, or longer, from 1887, and by which the United States was given the "exclusive right to enter the harbor of Pearl River,


Ther. SUN. SEPT. 25, 1887 Wea.

Ther. MON. SEPT. 26, 1887 Wea.

From original in archives of Hawaii.

Two pages from the diary of Princess Liliuokalani containing references to the Pearl Harbor and Reciprocity Treaty

in the Island of Oahu, and to establish and to maintain there a coaling and repair station for the use of vessels of the United States." Under this condition the reciprocity treaty remained in effect until the annexation of Hawaii to the United States. During that time the United States did not take advantage of the right to use the harbor of Pearl River.

Questions and Exercises

1. From what you learned of agricultural activities in the last chapter, explain why the need for a reciprocity treaty should be most keenly felt at this time.

2. Copy the following list in your notebook and check those statements which you feel best express the attitude of the United States toward reciprocity with Hawaii.

The United States government made the treaty of reciprocity

a. To help the Hawaiian government
b. To show its friendly feeling for Hawaii
c. To aid Americans engaged in business in Hawaii
d. To get control of Hawaiian trade
e. To keep the trade and good will of Hawaii from swinging over to England.

3. Contrast Kalakaua's and Liholiho's motives for leaving Hawaii.

4. *a.* At this time immigrants were brought to Hawaii for what two reasons?

Copy the following, filling in the blanks:

b. Immigrants came to —— —— and ——.
c. The greatest number came from ——. Why?
d. Immigrants came from —— and —— in Europe.

5. What are some of the difficulties met by immigrants coming to a new country?

6. When large numbers of foreign immigrants settle in a country, what is the danger to the country?

For Further Reading

Alexander, W. D. — "History of Immigration to Hawaii," in *Thrum's Hawaiian Annual for 1896*, pages 114–125.

Goodale, W. W. — "Brief History of Hawaiian Unskilled Labor," in *Thrum's Hawaiian Annual for 1914*, pages 170–191

XXIV

THE REIGN OF KALAKAUA

Hooulu Lahui. When Kalakaua came to the throne he announced that his purpose was to build up the nation, *Hooulu Lahui*, and this phrase was much used during the first few years of his reign. In a speech at Lahaina soon after his election he said, "The increase of the people; the advancement of agriculture and commerce; these are the objects which my government will mainly strive to accomplish." The advancement of agriculture and commerce was accomplished by means of the reciprocity treaty, the effects of which were described in the last chapter.

The increase of the people was a harder problem to solve, but it was believed to be of supreme importance. In December, 1872, when Kalakaua was a candidate against Lunalilo, he had promised, if elected, "to preserve and increase the people, so that they shall multiply and fill the land with chiefs and common people." Did Kalakaua mean by this that the pure Hawaiian race was to "multiply and fill the land"? If so, the promise was not, and could not be, fulfilled.

The only practical method for increasing the people was through immigration. That method was followed, and the Hawaiian islands were repopulated with alien races. Little by little the immigrants intermarried with the Hawaiians, and there came to be a group of part-Hawaiians. While the pure Hawaiians decreased, the part-Hawaiians increased and have kept on increasing.

The question of increasing the permanent population of the

islands was mixed up with the labor problem. In Hawaii it has always been hard to supply the labor needs of the sugar plantations without endangering the other interests of the country. It was partly in connection with the problem of immigration and labor that King Kalakaua made his trip around the world in 1881.

Kalakaua

Although the decline of the native population was not stopped, some things were done during this reign to improve the condition of the people. Thus in 1878 and 1880 the legislature appropriated money for a medical work for the instruction of Hawaiians. The result was the preparation of a series of "Sanitary Instructions for Hawaiians," which was published in two native newspapers and printed in book form. In these instructions, considerable emphasis was placed upon the necessity of taking proper care of babies. It is impossible to state exactly how much good was done in this way, but it is interesting to notice that Charles R. Bishop, in his report as president of the Board of Education in 1892, speaks of the

"better care of the children of the natives, which has been noticeable in late years."

The amount of money appropriated for the work of the Board of Health was increased from year to year and in 1890 was nearly three times as great as it was in 1874. This money was spent in the fight against leprosy, in the support of hospitals and government physicians, and in other ways to protect and improve the health of the people.

Education. During this reign a radical change took place in the school system of the kingdom. One thing which stands out most conspicuously is the fact that the common schools, taught in the Hawaiian language, almost disappeared. In 1890 less than one tenth of the school children were attending the common schools, while two thirds were attending the government English schools, and all the rest were in private schools where the English language was used. The reason for this was the desire of the Hawaiians to have their children learn English, since that was the business language of the islands and the one which would be of the greatest use to them. In 1888 the government English schools were made free.

Steady progress was made in raising the standards of the schools. A growing school fund and larger appropriations by the legislature made it possible to build better schoolhouses, to lengthen the school term, to hire more efficient teachers, and to provide a better course of instruction. Progress was especially marked after 1887, when a new school board was appointed and A. T. Atkinson became the Inspector General of Schools. Normal classes were organized for the benefit of the teachers, and more attention was paid to the examination of teachers and the granting of teachers' certificates. Even at that time it was found necessary to bring teachers from abroad in order to keep the schools supplied.

Before the end of Kalakaua's reign the work of education was beginning to be complicated by the changing character of the

population. In 1890 there were more than 1,800 Portuguese children in the public schools. There were nearly 300 Chinese, and smaller numbers of American, English, and German children, together with a few Norwegians, Japanese, and South Sea islanders.

An interesting experiment tried in the reign of Kalakaua was that of sending Hawaiian youths to foreign lands to be educated so that they might be of greater service to the nation. Money was appropriated by the legislature to pay their expenses. In all about twenty young people were sent abroad for this purpose between 1880 and 1887 to Italy, Scotland, England, the United States, Japan, and China. The courses which they followed were varied — military and naval science, engineering, law, medicine, art, languages, and general science. A few of these Hawaiian youths died abroad, a few remained in foreign lands, while others returned to Hawaii and became useful members of the community. The list of students includes the names of Robert W. Wilcox, a conspicuous figure in Hawaiian history, who was the first delegate in Congress from the Territory of Hawaii; and of Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole, who was the second delegate in Congress, where he served for twenty years, until his death in 1922.

Kalakaua's trip around the world. At the beginning of 1881 Kalakaua announced his intention of making a trip around the world. Preparations were quickly made. Princess Liliuokalani, who had been proclaimed heiress to the throne after the death of Prince Leleiohoku in 1877, was named as regent during the absence of the king. The journey began in January, 1881, the king being accompanied by his chamberlain, Colonel C. H. Judd, and by his attorney general, W. N. Armstrong, who was given the duty of investigating the subject of emigration in the various countries which they visited. The king and his party went first to San Francisco and from there sailed on a trans-Pacific steamer for Japan.

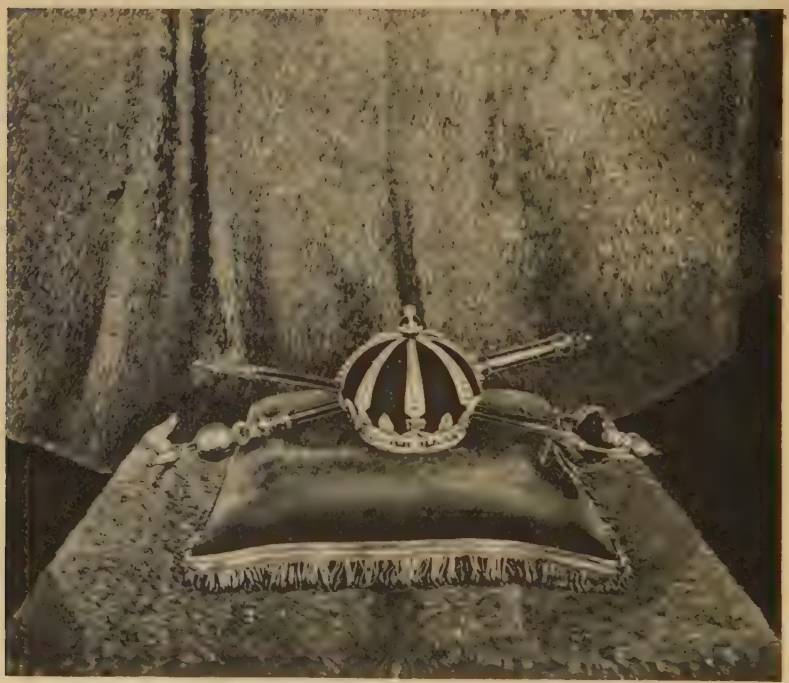
As the vessel steamed into the bay of Yeddo the king was greeted with a royal salute from a dozen warships and at once invited to become the guest of the emperor of Japan. When he stepped on shore, the imperial military band played the Hawaiian national anthem, *Hawaii Ponoi*. The reception accorded to Kalakaua was truly magnificent. He was the first king of a western, Christian nation who had ever visited Japan, and he was received with as much honor as if he had been the most powerful monarch on earth. From Japan the king continued his journey, visiting China, Siam, India, Egypt, and the great capitals of Europe, where he was received with the respect and consideration due to the head of an independent kingdom. Returning by way of the United States, Kalakaua arrived in Honolulu at the end of October, having completed the first journey ever made around the world by a king. The home-coming was celebrated with triumphal arches and commemorative *meles*.

The coronation. Soon after the return of Kalakaua preparations were begun for the coronation of the king and queen. This act had been authorized by the legislature of 1880, but it had been delayed for various reasons. It was now decided that the ceremony should take place on February 12, 1883, the ninth anniversary of the election of Kalakaua. The purpose of the coronation was to confirm and glorify the family of Kalakaua as the ruling dynasty of the kingdom, to awaken in the people a national pride, and to bring Hawaii to the attention of the world at large.

The ceremony was held in front of the new Iolani Palace, which had recently been completed. A special pavilion and an amphitheater were built and decorated with paintings and with the coats-of-arms of the nations of the earth. Foreign powers were asked to send representatives for the occasion; Japan sent a special commissioner, while Great Britain, France, and the United States sent warships to honor the event.

The ritual used in the coronation ceremony was a combina-

tion of the customs of European royalty and of the ancient Hawaiian chiefs. The regalia included costly crowns, ring, scepter, and sword of state, all of which were made in Europe, the priceless feather cloak of Kamehameha I, and the *palaoa*, *puloulou*, and *kahili*, as symbols of Hawaiian chieftainship.



Photograph by Williams.

Crown, scepter, and sword of Kalakaua

Two days after the coronation the statue of Kamehameha I, which stands in front of Aliiolani Hale, the Judiciary Building, was unveiled by the king. The legislature of 1878 appropriated the money for this statue, which was intended to mark the one hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the islands by Captain Cook. The statue was designed by an American sculptor,

T. R. Gould, and was made in Italy. The original statue was lost at sea, but a replica was obtained and it is this replica which stands in Honolulu. The original statue was afterwards recovered and set up at Kohala, Hawaii.

Political struggle. During a great part of the reign of Kalakaua a political struggle was in progress, which culminated in the revolution of 1887. Personally, Kalakaua had a very pleasant manner; he was well educated and knew how to move in the best circles of society; he was a lover of music and that branch of art received a great stimulus during his reign; literary men, such as Robert Louis Stevenson, found his companionship agreeable and his friendship worth cultivating. Politically, Kalakaua was a believer in the absolute right of the king to rule as he saw fit. He believed not only that he possessed that right, but that he ought to possess it. It is therefore clear that the political ideas of Kalakaua were similar to those of Kamehameha V, who promulgated the constitution of 1864. That constitution left the way open for the king to do almost as he pleased, so far as the government was concerned. He could dismiss his ministers at any time and appoint others in their stead. In that way he was able to control the cabinet. He could appoint members of the legislature to public offices and in that way get their support. All of this was perfectly legal under the constitution of 1864. Kalakaua also thought that he had a right to change the constitution if he wished to do so, just as Kamehameha V had done, and that it was proper for him to use his personal influence in elections. He was probably sincere in all these beliefs, but, when he came to put them into practice, he very soon got into trouble.

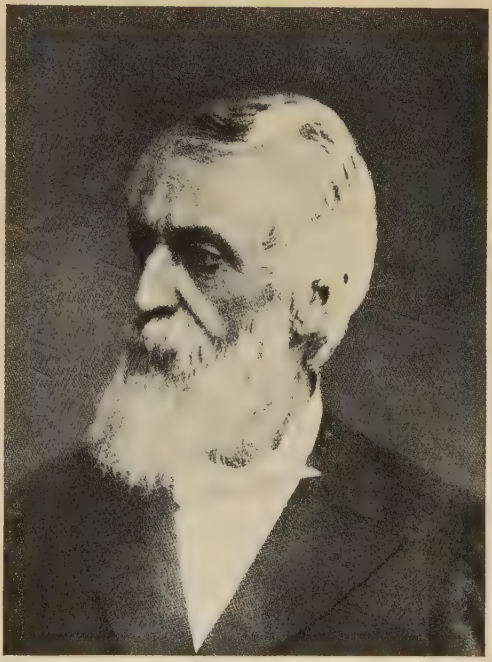
Opposed to him was a party which believed that the government of Hawaii was, or ought to be, a constitutional monarchy like that of England, in which the king, or queen, had a position of great dignity but very little power. They believed that the power should rest in the hands of the people, who, through the

legislature, should have control of the cabinet ministers. They thought that the king ought not to have the right to dismiss the ministers at will, and that members of the legislature ought not to hold any other public offices. They tried in every way to keep the king's power within these limits. This difference between the views of the king and the views of those opposed to him was an underlying cause of the political struggle during the reign of Kalakaua. The fight went on with increasing bitterness, but the king had the advantage because the constitution of 1864 was on his side.

Another important cause of the political difficulties was the character of some of the ministers appointed by the king and the way in which they conducted the government. Kalakaua changed his ministers frequently, sometimes without stating any reason. He did this in July, 1878, and again in August, 1880. On the latter occasion he appointed as minister of foreign affairs an Italian soldier of fortune named C. C. Moreno, who had been in the country only a short time. This action aroused a storm of opposition and the king concluded it was best to appoint a more acceptable ministry. All this happened shortly before he started on his trip around the world.

The régime of Gibson. The one person who did more than any one else to bring on the revolution of 1887 was Walter Murray Gibson. This man came to Hawaii as a Mormon missionary in 1861, but was expelled from that church in 1864. Since that time he had become thoroughly established in the islands, and had taken a large part in the discussion of public questions. In his younger days he had traveled in all parts of the world; he was well educated, intellectually keen, even brilliant in some ways; and he had many excellent ideas along with some that were not so good. He was a partisan of Kalakaua as early as 1873, and was elected to the legislature in 1878, 1880, and 1882. There he was a leader of the king's party, and in 1882 was appointed minister of foreign affairs and head of the cabinet.

From that time until June, 1887, Gibson was continuously in the cabinet and was its leading member; other ministers came and went, but he stayed on; at times he held two positions at once. He was thoroughly in sympathy with the king's views, and was quite unscrupulous as to the methods he used. During these years the politics and government of Hawaii became as corrupt as the politics and government of some large cities in the United States about that time.



Walter Murray Gibson

Very naturally, in such a system of government, a good many evils and abuses crept in. In 1882 what was commonly called the "free liquor bill" was passed, under which it became lawful to sell liquor to Hawaiians, a thing which had been prohibited before that time. The leprosy question was handled very loosely, and the policy of segregation was almost abandoned. The finances were not properly attended to, and the national debt rose from $355,000 in 1874 to $2,600,000 in 1890. The question of licensing the sale of opium became a political issue, and in 1886 a law was passed giving the government the right to sell an opium monopoly license for $30,000 a year. The most unfortunate thing was the use made of the race question. Gibson systematically

tried to stir up hatred among the Hawaiians against the foreigners, particularly against those who had long been living in Hawaii and were identified with its business and social life. The cry was raised, "Hawaii for the Hawaiians!" Gibson used this issue to build up his own influence among the Hawaiians, though he himself was a foreigner.

The Hawaiian League. About the beginning of 1887 a secret political organization was formed, called the Hawaiian League. The purpose of this League was to bring about a reform in the government and to secure a new and more liberal constitution. The organization grew rapidly and in a short time had hundreds of members in all parts of the kingdom. Most of the leaders of this movement were Hawaiian citizens — men born in Hawaii of foreign parents or naturalized subjects of the king — and the membership included a considerable number of native Hawaiians. Within the League two factions developed: a radical group which favored the overthrow of the monarchy, the setting up of a republic, and annexation to the United States; and a conservative group which desired that Hawaii should remain independent and which favored a continuance of the monarchy under a new constitution which would take most of the power away from the king. If the king refused to agree to the change, the conservatives were prepared to join with the radicals in an attempt to overthrow the monarchy. The conservative group was the larger of the two and was able to keep control of the organization. The members of the League provided themselves with arms, so that they would be able to fight if necessary to accomplish their purpose.

The Revolution of 1887. Affairs were brought to a crisis in June, 1887, through the publication of reports of scandals in connection with the granting of the opium license authorized by the legislature of 1886. Public opinion was greatly worked up by these reports, and the leaders of the Hawaiian League concluded that the time for action had arrived. A large and en-

thusiastic mass meeting was held on the thirtieth of June and resolutions were adopted calling upon the king to dismiss Gibson and other officials who were named, to appoint a new cabinet " which shall be committed to the policy of securing a new constitution," and to promise that in future he would not interfere in the work of the legislature and the cabinet or in elections. With very little delay the king granted all of these requests. A new cabinet was appointed and proceeded to draw up a new constitution, which was signed by Kalakaua, July 6, 1887, and went into effect the next day.

The constitution of 1887 was a revision of the constitution of 1864. The changes were not very numerous but they were very important. First, it was provided that the cabinet ministers could not be dismissed by the king except in accordance with a vote of the legislature; second, that no official act of the king should be valid unless approved by the cabinet; third, that the nobles should be elected by voters who had a fairly large amount of property or income. The practical effect of this provision was to place the election of nobles in the hands of voters of foreign birth or foreign ancestry. Under the constitution of 1864 the nobles were appointed by the king. Fourth, it provided that no member of the legislature, while in that position, should hold or be appointed to any other public office; and fifth, the privilege of voting was extended to resident foreigners of American or European birth or descent if they took an oath to support the constitution.

Questions and Exercises

1. Suppose that one morning you read headlines in the paper saying that the superintendent of public instruction and the territorial treasurer had been discharged by the governor, who had given no reasons for doing so, and that, from time to time, he discharged other officers of the government and then discharged their successors shortly afterward. Again, suppose you had no Board of Health to inspect

your city — or that the governor permitted certain people, on the payment of a large sum of money, to sell opium or other drugs — or, finally, that he said we must all pay ten per cent of our income to the government each year, to add to the money in the treasury.

a. What do you think the people would say?

b. Would anyone take the governor's side? Why?

c. Would our governor act in this way? Why?

2. Among the things which we imagined as happening in the first exercise, can you find any which correspond to some of the things Kalakaua did when he was king? In what ways are the position of king and governor alike? What reasons did Kalakaua give for doing the things he did? What do you think of those reasons? What did some of the people do to show the king their disapproval? What did they do which put a stop to further action of the same kind? Name the changes in the constitution to which the king was forced to agree. If Kalakaua had lived a hundred years before he did, would his subjects have protested if he had acted in the same way? Why?

For Further Reading

Ashford, C. W. — "Last Days of the Hawaiian Monarchy," in *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society.*

XXV

THE END OF THE MONARCHY

The fight for control of the government. The revolution of 1887 did not end the contest over the question of what kind of government Hawaii should have. The fight went on for nearly ten years longer, and the final result was the overthrow of the monarchy and the setting up of a republic.

The events of June and July, 1887, placed the new cabinet ministers firmly in control of the government, but responsible to the legislature, and left the king with very little power. But Kalakaua and his supporters did not intend that affairs should remain in that shape any longer than was necessary. The king studied the constitution carefully and took advantage of all the authority that it did give him. He frequently refused to follow the advice of the cabinet, and several times the Supreme Court was called on to determine whether it was necessary for him to do what the cabinet wished him to do. In most of these cases the court decided in favor of the cabinet, but on one important point their decision was in favor of the king. The cabinet claimed that the king could not veto a bill without their consent, but the judges decided that he could.

The ultimate object of the king and his party was to do away with the constitution of 1887 and restore the constitution of 1864. There were two ways in which this might be done: (1) by means of a revolution; or (2) through political action, by getting control of the legislature. Both of these methods were tried.

Revolutionary attempts. Between 1887 and 1895 there was scarcely a year in which there was not a revolutionary uprising

or an attempt to get up a revolt. It is practically certain that the purpose of some of these revolutionary schemes was to depose Kalakaua and place his sister, Liliuokalani, on the throne. The most active revolutionary leader was Robert W. Wilcox. Wilcox was one of the students sent abroad by the government; he went to Italy in 1880 to study engineering and military science. He was recalled in 1887 by the reform cabinet, who did not think his education would be of much use to the country. He immediately tried to organize a revolt, but his plans were found out and he was allowed to leave the islands and go to California.

Wilcox returned to Honolulu in 1889 and a revolutionary organization was formed. On the morning of July 30, with about one hundred and fifty followers, Wilcox attempted to seize the palace and government buildings and proclaim a new constitution. The king was not in the palace at the time. The cabinet took vigorous steps to suppress the uprising. The insurgents were driven into a bungalow in the corner of the palace grounds and forced to surrender after seven of them had been killed and a dozen others wounded. Later, when he was tried for treason, Wilcox claimed that he had acted with the consent of the king, and he was acquitted by the jury on that ground.

Political developments. The king had a much better chance of success through political action. He had a large party back of him, but this party was somewhat weakened by the revolution of 1887; therefore, in the election which took place in the fall of 1887, the Reform Party was victorious. About this time a political society called the *Hui Kalaiaina* was formed among the native Hawaiians. Its purpose was to get a new constitution, like that of 1864, and give back to the king the power taken from him by the constitution of 1887. By working through this society and in other ways, the king's party grew stronger. The Reform Party was weakened by quarrels within its own ranks. The result was that in the legislature of 1890 the Reform Party

did not have a majority. In June of that year the reform ministry went out of office and a compromise cabinet was appointed. At this session of the legislature an attempt was made to call a convention for making a new constitution, but the movement was defeated.

Accession of Liliuokalani. After the close of the legislative session in November, 1890, King Kalakaua went to California on the United States cruiser *Charleston* for the purpose of a rest and in the hope that his health would be improved by the change of climate. Princess Liliuokalani acted as regent in his absence. The king's condition grew worse instead of better and he died January 20, 1891, in San Francisco. His body was brought back to Honolulu on the *Charleston*, and Princess Liliuokalani was immediately proclaimed queen, taking the required oath to maintain the constitution. The funeral of the late king, a stately and mournful ceremony, took place on February 15.

The new sovereign of Hawaii, like the four who preceded her, was born during the early years of the reign of Kamehameha III, and like them, was educated in the school of the young chiefs. At the time of her accession Liliuokalani was more than fifty years of age, and had for many years been prominent in the social life of the kingdom. She was a poet and musician of much ability, her musical compositions numbering more than a hundred. The best known of them is the beautiful song, *Aloha Oe*, of which she wrote both the words and the music. She was also a member of various educational and welfare organizations and took a keen personal interest in such work. The political ideas of Queen Liliuokalani were similar to those of Kalakaua, but she had more tenacity and strength of purpose than her royal brother. At the time of the revolution of 1887 she was in England with Queen Kapiolani, attending the golden jubilee of Queen Victoria. It is known that she thought Kalakaua showed weakness in yielding as he did at that time. She was also opposed to the Pearl River clause of the reciprocity treaty.

Revolution of 1893. From the very beginning of her reign it was clear that Queen Liliuokalani did not like the constitu-

Liliuokalani *Photograph by Williams.*

tional limitations on her power, but no serious difficulty occurred until the legislative session of 1892. In that legislature the parties were very evenly divided, and a long contest arose over

three questions: (1) the control of the cabinet, the queen making a determined effort to put into office ministers who would follow her directions; (2) an opium license bill; and (3) a bill to give a franchise to a lottery company. The party which supported the queen favored all of these measures, but was defeated in all three cases. A cabinet composed of men of the highest standing was finally appointed, and it was then supposed that affairs would run along smoothly until the next session of the legislature in 1894.

But in the early part of January, 1893, a few days before the legislature was closed, while several members of the Reform Party were absent, the opium and lottery bills were brought up again and passed and the cabinet was voted out of office. The queen immediately appointed a new cabinet satisfactory to herself and signed the opium and lottery bills, thus making them laws. A day or two later, on the morning of January 14, the legislature was prorogued (dismissed) by the queen, and it was reported that in the afternoon she would proclaim a new constitution, similar to that of 1864. The queen believed that she had a right to do this if the cabinet approved. The proposed constitution had been drawn up some time before, but at the last moment the members of the cabinet were afraid that its promulgation would cause a revolution; for that reason they refused to sign it, in spite of the appeals of the queen. She therefore announced, during the afternoon, that she was obliged to postpone the matter for a while.

There is little doubt that a large majority of the native Hawaiians were in favor of a new constitution; but the action of the queen and her party in passing the opium and lottery bills, in changing the cabinet, and in attempting to proclaim a new constitution caused great dissatisfaction and alarm among the members of the Reform Party and those men who had taken part in the revolution of 1887. A large impromptu meeting was held in a down-town office and a Committee of Safety of thirteen

members was appointed. This committee held several meetings to discuss what should be done and also took steps to secure a supply of arms and ammunition and to sign up volunteers for military service. A mass meeting was called for Monday afternoon, January 16, at the armory, to consider the situation. This activity alarmed the queen and the cabinet ministers and on Monday morning they issued a proclamation, saying that no change would be made in the constitution except in the manner provided by law. A rival mass meeting was called to meet that afternoon in the palace yard in order to draw people away from the meeting called by the Committee of Safety.

The two mass meetings were held at the same hour. At the armory the actions of the Committee of Safety were approved and the committee was authorized to take whatever further steps were necessary "to secure the permanent maintenance of law and order." The opinion was expressed that the queen and her advisers could not be trusted any longer and that some decisive action was necessary. Following this meeting the Committee of Safety decided that the proper course was to put an end to the monarchy, set up a temporary government, and apply for admission into the United States.

Plans were quickly made and on Tuesday afternoon, January 17, the committee, without opposition, took possession of the government building and read a proclamation putting an end to the monarchy and establishing a Provisional Government "to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon." The Provisional Government consisted of an Executive Council of four members to take the place of the queen and cabinet, and of an Advisory Council of fourteen members having legislative authority. The members of the Executive Council were Sanford B. Dole, president and minister of foreign affairs; J. A. King, minister of the interior; P. C. Jones, minister of finance; and W. O. Smith, attorney general.

The selection of Judge Dole as head of the government was a very fortunate one, as he was born in the islands, was thoroughly identified with its best interests, and possessed just the qualities needed in such a position — courage, cool judgment, executive ability, a keen and logical mind, an uncompromising but yet

Executive Council of the Provisional Government, January, 1893
From left to right: J. A. King, S. B. Dole, W. O. Smith, P. C. Jones.

a conciliatory disposition; and he had the full confidence and respect of the entire community, Hawaiians and foreigners alike.

The Provisional Government immediately demanded from the queen and cabinet the surrender of the palace, the police, and the royal military force. This surrender was made, but it was done under protest. On Monday afternoon troops had been landed from the United States cruiser *Boston* for the protection of the lives and property of American citizens and to assist in preserving public order. This was done at the request of the

American minister. The queen and her advisers declared that these troops were landed to aid the revolutionists and that the queen's forces did not dare to attack the Provisional Government for fear of a conflict with the United States troops. The queen therefore surrendered her authority under protest and appealed to the United States government to restore her to the throne.

The Provisional Government sent five commissioners to Washington to negotiate a treaty of annexation. Liliuokalani also sent agents to present her claims. An annexation treaty was drawn up, signed on February 14, 1893, and submitted to the Senate by President Harrison for approval; but no action was taken upon it before the change of administration which occurred on the fourth of March.

President Cleveland's attempt to restore the monarchy. Soon after the inauguration of President Cleveland, he withdrew the proposed Hawaiian treaty from the Senate and sent a special commissioner, James H. Blount, to Hawaii to investigate the situation. Mr. Blount came to Honolulu, made an investigation, and then went back to Washington and reported that the overthrow of the queen's government was the result of a conspiracy between the revolutionists and John L. Stevens, the United States minister to Hawaii, and that the troops from the cruiser *Boston* were landed for the purpose of aiding the revolutionists. President Cleveland, believing that Mr. Blount's report was true, concluded that he ought to restore the monarchy in Hawaii and put Liliuokalani back on the throne. For that purpose he sent a new minister, Albert S. Willis, to Hawaii.

Mr. Willis arrived at Honolulu early in November, 1893, presented his credentials, and was formally received by the Provisional Government. He then held a series of conferences with Liliuokalani and finally obtained her agreement to grant full pardon and amnesty to the revolutionists and to maintain the constitution of 1887 in case she was restored to the throne. Mr. Willis then, in the name of President Cleveland, asked President

Dole and his associates to step out and turn the government over to Liliuokalani. To this request Mr. Dole, in his capacity as minister of foreign affairs, made a reply, protesting against President Cleveland's interference in the internal affairs of Hawaii, emphatically denying the truth of the charges contained in Blount's report, and firmly declining to restore the government to Liliuokalani. That settled the matter, since Mr. Cleveland

Preparations for defense of Executive Building in December, 1893
The Provisional Government feared that the United States Minister would use armed force in an effort to restore the Queen.

had no authority to use force and it was clear that the United States Congress would not support him in carrying out his policy.

Establishment of the republic. In view of the failure of the annexation treaty and the certainty that Hawaii could not become a part of the United States so long as President Cleveland was in office, it was thought desirable to place the government upon a permanent basis. A law was therefore passed providing for the holding of a constitutional convention, which was to consist of the President and the Executive and Advisory Councils of the Provisional Government, together with eighteen delegates elected by the voters. The voters and the delegates elected by

them were required to take an oath to support the Provisional Government and oppose any attempt to restore the monarchy.

The convention met on May 30, 1894, and the constitution of the Republic of Hawaii was proclaimed on the morning of the Fourth of July following. The government established by this constitution was similar in its general outline to the government of the United States, but there were some features based on the government of England, and the method of choosing the president was like that used in France. The constitution also embodied some new ideas in government and retained some parts of the Hawaiian constitution of 1887. It was very carefully worked out, in order to make it fit the existing condition of affairs in Hawaii. Mr. Dole was continued in office as president of the republic. The national flag remained the same as it was under the monarchy. The new government was promptly recognized by all the leading nations of the world.

Insurrection of 1895. As long as there was any chance that the United States might intervene to restore Liliuokalani to the throne, her supporters remained quiet; but when they lost hope of aid from that direction, they began to lay plans for an armed uprising. There were rumors of such an attempt during the spring of 1894, particularly while the constitutional convention was in session. During the summer Liliuokalani sent agents to Washington to find out from President Cleveland whether there was any hope of his doing anything to restore the monarchy. His reply was that he could do nothing. After the return of these agents to Hawaii, preparations were completed for a revolutionary attempt to overthrow the republic. A large quantity of arms and ammunition was brought down from San Francisco and the early part of January, 1895, was fixed as the time for the uprising.

The government got wind of the affair and took steps which prevented the royalists from carrying out their plans. There were a few skirmishes at Waikiki and in Palolo and Manoa

Valleys, resulting in the death of several men and the wounding of some others. Within a few days the leaders were all captured and a large number of the rank and file were made prisoners. Liliuokalani was also placed under arrest. Altogether the prisoners numbered more than two hundred, including twenty or thirty foreigners. Most of the foreigners were released on condition of leaving the country. The other prisoners were tried by a military court and nearly all, including Liliuokalani, were found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment or fine; but within a few months all were released. Among the participants in this insurrection were a number of men who afterwards had a prominent and honorable part in public affairs.

Abdication of Liliuokalani. While she was a prisoner awaiting trial before the military court, Liliuokalani sent to President Dole a letter in which she abdicated and renounced all her claims to the throne of Hawaii. At the same time she signed the oath of allegiance to the Republic of Hawaii, and announced her intention of living quietly as a private citizen. This action of the ex-queen was a definite acknowledgment that the monarchy was dead and that the republic was firmly established.

Questions and Exercises

1. We know that all over the world to-day in different countries we find people of many nationalities living together, generally in peace. In each group, however, those of one nationality usually depend on people from their own country for support and companionship, in times of both pleasure and trouble. If any great disturbance occurs in that country, these little groups composed of people of one nationality are even more unified than under ordinary conditions.

a. Which racial groups had the greatest influence on life in Hawaii at the time of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States?

b. On what question did they divide?

c. If you had been a native Hawaiian at this time which point of view would you have supported? Why?

d. If you had been in Hawaii at this time and were an American what point of view would you have supported? Why?

2. In American history you have studied about the annexation of Texas. Now you are studying about the annexation of Hawaii. Compare the two on the following points:

a. American interests in Texas and Hawaii.
b. Native governments in Texas and Hawaii.
c. Reasons for annexation of each.
d. Reasons against annexation of each.
e. Importance to the United States government of these two annexations.

3. Which of the following statements do you think best expresses the reasons for Hawaii's annexation by the United States? Give reasons for your choice.

a. To keep any other country from getting possession of Hawaii.
b. To help Hawaiians.
c. To help Americans here.
d. To provide Hawaii with a democratic government.

4. *a.* President Cleveland would not agree to the annexation of Hawaii. Why?
b. Was there any similar difficulty over the annexation of Texas? How long was it before the question was settled?

5. Name some ways in which Hawaii has been benefited by annexation; some in which Hawaii has been injured. Which do you think the greater, the benefits or the injuries? Why?

XXVI

HAWAII BECOMES AN AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH

The annexation question in Hawaii and in the United States. Although the annexation of Hawaii to the United States was postponed for the time being, the idea was not given up. It was the purpose of the Hawaiian government to bring about annexation as soon as it could be done. On the other hand those who had been in favor of the monarchy now turned their efforts against annexation, because so long as Hawaii was independent there was still some hope of restoring the monarchy. In the United States the " Hawaiian question " became a political issue and was hotly debated. The Democrats were generally opposed to annexation, while the Republicans favored it. In the election of 1896 the Republican candidate, William McKinley, was elected president, and this gave great encouragement to the friends of annexation.

Treaty of annexation. Soon after the inauguration of President McKinley negotiations were opened at Washington and a new treaty of annexation was signed on June 16, 1897. The treaty was submitted to the United States Senate the same day with a message from the president, in which he said that the annexation of Hawaii was the inevitable consequence of the relations between that country and the United States for the last three quarters of a century. The opponents of the treaty fought hard to prevent its approval. A majority of the senators were in favor of it, but not two thirds of them, and the treaty required a two-thirds vote. Therefore no action was taken on the treaty by the United States Senate. In Hawaii the treaty was approved by the

Hawaiian Senate and signed by President Dole on the tenth of September, 1897.

Japanese protest against annexation. The Japanese government presented to the United States government a strong protest against the annexation of Hawaii, on two grounds: (1) That the proposed annexation would change the existing condition of affairs in the Pacific Ocean and might thereby cause international difficulties; (2) that annexation might interfere with the rights of Japanese citizens in Hawaii. When annexation was under consideration in 1893, Japan made no protest, but since that time circumstances had changed. Japan had defeated China in war and had suddenly become a world power and the leading nation in Asia. The number of Japanese in Hawaii had increased from 15,000 in 1893 to 25,000 in 1897.

During this period (1893–1897) Japanese immigrants came to Hawaii so rapidly that the Hawaiian government thought it necessary to place some restrictions on immigration. The government finally became convinced that many Japanese were entering Hawaii in violation of the immigration laws, and in the early part of 1897 about a thousand immigrants were refused admission because they could not meet the requirements of the law. The Japanese government immediately protested against this action, declaring that it was in violation of treaty rights, and demanded indemnity from the Hawaiian government. This led to a long discussion, which was in progress at the very time Japan made her protest to the United States against annexation.

The Japanese government finally withdrew its protest against annexation, and the Hawaiian government paid $75,000 to Japan in order to settle the immigration controversy so that it would not be passed on to the United States as an unsettled question at the time of annexation. The question of Japanese immigration to Hawaii proved to be a very strong argument in favor of annexation. It was said that if Hawaii were not annexed

to the United States it would be only a matter of time until the islands would become a Japanese colony.

The Spanish-American War. While the question of annexation was still pending, war broke out between the United States and Spain. Admiral Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in the Philippines and took possession of Manila Bay. Troops were ordered to sail from San Francisco to Manila. The Hawaiian government, instead of remaining neutral, offered to the United States the use of the harbors and other facilities which the islands afforded. The troop ships were welcomed with enthusiasm. The women of Honolulu organized a Red Cross Society which rendered important service to the "boys in blue." Under the circumstances the value of the Hawaiian islands for military and naval purposes was perfectly clear to everyone, and the cause of annexation was greatly strengthened.

Annexation by joint resolution. In view of the failure of the United States Senate to act on the Hawaiian treaty, a different method was used to bring about annexation. This was by a joint resolution of the two houses of Congress, the same method that was used to bring about the annexation of Texas in 1845. The joint resolution required only a majority vote of each house of Congress. It was passed by the House of Representatives on June 15, 1898, by the Senate on July 6, and signed by President McKinley the following day. The news was received in Honolulu about a week later.

Transfer of sovereignty. August 12, 1898, was the day set for the transfer of sovereignty from the Republic of Hawaii to the United States. The ceremony took place in front of the Executive Building, formerly the Royal Palace, at the hour of noon. Mr. Sewall, United States minister to Hawaii, presented the joint resolution of Congress providing for annexation. President Dole, on behalf of Hawaii, yielded up the sovereignty of the islands, which was accepted by Mr. Sewall in the name of the United States. The troops presented arms. Twenty-one guns

sounded from the battery on shore and from the warships in the harbor — the last national salute to the Hawaiian flag. The Hawaiian band played the national anthem, *Hawaii Ponoi*, and the Hawaiian ensign was slowly drawn down. The American

Transfer of sovereignty, August 12, 1898

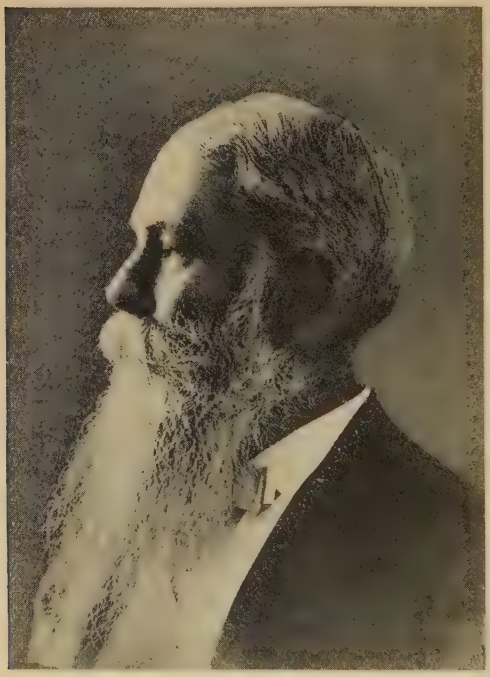
flag was raised in its place, while the band from the cruiser *Philadelphia* played *The Star Spangled Banner*. The national salute of twenty-one guns was again given from ship and shore batteries, after which Mr. Sewall read an official proclamation and delivered a short address.

Hawaii had become a part of the United States. The ceremony was impressive, but the occasion was one of solemnity rather than of public rejoicing and festivity. Not many of the native Hawaiians were present. To them the scene could not be other than a painful one. Even those who felt that annexation was for the best could not look on without a tug at their heartstrings while the beautiful flag of Hawaii gave place to that of the United States, and while the strains of Hawaii Ponoi were played for the last time as the anthem of an independent nation.

The Organic Act. The annexation resolution provided that the government of Hawaii should continue as it was until Congress provided a permanent form of government for the islands. It also called for the appointment of a commission of five members to recommend to Congress "such legislation concerning the Hawaiian islands as they shall deem necessary or proper." As members of the Hawaiian Commission President McKinley appointed three members of Congress, Senators S. M. Cullom and J. T. Morgan and Representative R. R. Hitt, and two citizens of Hawaii, S. B. Dole and W. F. Frear. The Commission held its first meeting in August, 1898, and its report was presented to Congress in December of the same year. The report included the draft of a bill to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii. The bill was discussed, amended, and finally passed by Congress and approved by the president on April 30, 1900. This law is known as the Organic Act and is, in effect, the constitution of the Territory of Hawaii.

The territorial government. Annexation to the United States did not involve any very radical change in the form of government in Hawaii. Under the Organic Act the existing laws were continued in force unless they were inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the United States. The laws of the United States were extended over the Territory, but the aim of Congress was to change as little as possible the ordinary operations of the government already existing in Hawaii. Under the Organic Act and

the laws of the Territory the government is divided into three branches, executive, judicial, and legislative. The executive branch consists of a Governor and a Secretary, appointed by the president of the United States "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States"; and of an Attorney General, Treasurer, Auditor, Surveyor, High Sheriff, Commissioner of Public Lands, Superintendent of Public Works, Superintendent of Public Instruction, and various Boards and Commissions, appointed by the governor by and with the advice and consent of the territorial Senate.



Governor Sanford B. Dole (1900–1903)

The judicial branch consists of the Supreme Court, five circuit courts, and twenty-nine district courts. The judges of the district courts are called district magistrates and correspond to the justices of the peace in most of the states on the mainland. The judges of the Supreme Court and of the circuit courts are appointed by the president; the district magistrates are appointed by the chief justice of the Supreme Court. Besides these territorial courts there is also a United States District Court with two judges.

The legislative branch consists of a Legislature elected by the

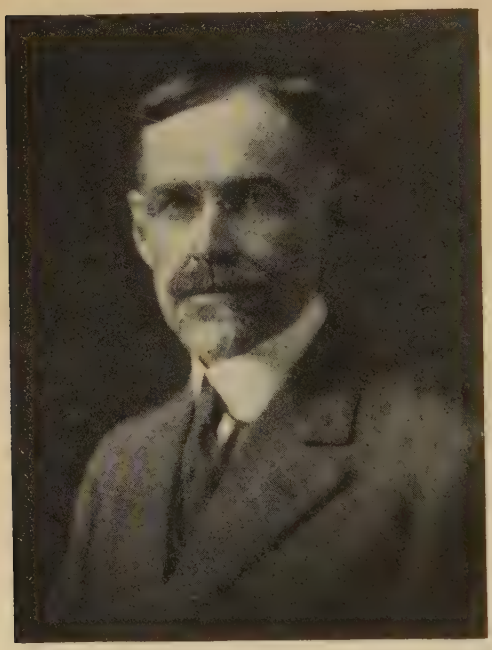
voters of the Territory and composed of two houses, the Senate, having fifteen members, and the House of Representatives, having thirty members. The voters also elect a delegate to Congress, who is a member of the United States House of Representatives and has all the rights and privileges of a representative, except the right to vote.

Under the Organic Act all citizens of Hawaii became citizens of the United States. The privilege of voting was granted to all male citizens of or over twenty-one years of age who could speak, read, and write either the English or the Hawaiian language. Under the nineteenth amendment of the constitution of the United States the women of Hawaii also have the right to vote. There is no property qualification for either voting or holding office.

Governor George R. Carter (1903–1907)

County and city government. Under the monarchy and the republic there had been no local governments in Hawaii, such as those of counties and cities. The whole administration of public affairs was centralized in the national government. The same condition existed during the first few years after the establishment of the territorial government. But a demand soon arose for the creation of county governments on

the different islands to take over the control of local affairs. In response to this demand a county government act was passed by the legislature of 1903, but it was almost immediately declared unconstitutional. Two years later a more carefully prepared act was passed.



Governor Walter F. Frear (1907–1913)

By the County Act of 1905 the Territory was divided into five counties: (1) Oahu; (2) Hawaii; (3) Maui, which includes Molokai (except the Leper Settlement), Lanai, and Kahoolawe; (4) Kauai, which includes Niihau; (5) Kalawao, which is confined to the Leper Settlement and is under the control of the Board of Health. In the counties of Oahu, Hawaii, Maui, and Kauai governments were set up which are in general similar to the county governments found in states on the mainland.

A further step in the development of local government was taken in 1907 when a law was passed to establish a municipal government for the city of Honolulu. A city government for Honolulu was first suggested many years before during the days of the monarchy, but no definite action resulted from that early suggestion. It was first intended to confine the municipal government to the limits of the city. A later suggestion was to

take in all of the Kona or south side of the island. But the Municipal Act of 1907 includes the whole island of Oahu in the City and County of Honolulu, for which it provides a government of the city type.

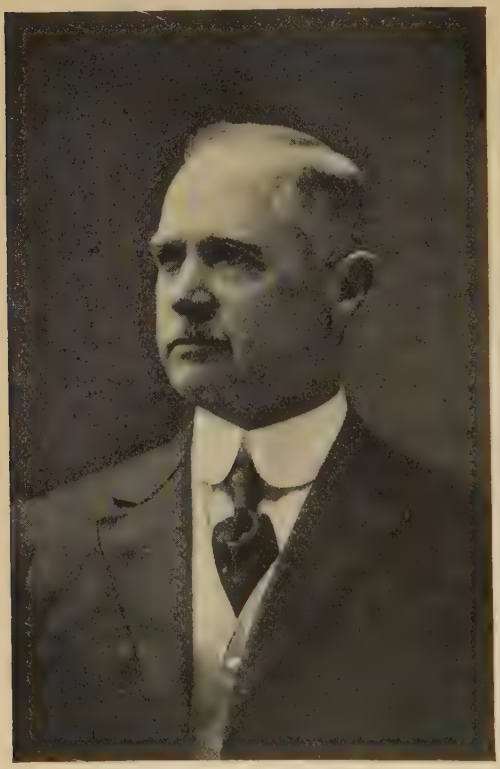
The creation of these county and municipal governments gave to the citizens of Hawaii a much larger field of activity in political affairs. It also completed the transformation of Hawaii from a centralized monarchy into a republican commonwealth of the ordinary American type.

Governor Lucius E. Pinkham (1913–1918)

Political development. As first governor of the Territory President McKinley appointed Sanford B. Dole; hence the difficult period of adjustment passed by without any change in the highest executive office. There was much speculation as to how the people of Hawaii would act under the new conditions. The Organic Act gave the native Hawaiians the political control of all elective offices. Down to the year 1924 the Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians made up a clear majority of the voting population; and for many years longer they will comprise the largest single group of voters. Looking back over the first quarter century of territorial history, it can truthfully be said that the voters of

Hawaii have used the ballot as wisely as the voters in any other part of the United States.

The first territorial election was held in the fall of 1900. There were three parties in the field: a Home Rule Party, with the motto, "Hawaii for the Hawaiians"; and the Republican and Democratic parties. After a vigorous campaign the Home Rulers won a sweeping victory. Their candidate, Robert W. Wilcox, was elected delegate to Congress over the Republican candidate, Samuel Parker, and the Democratic candidate, Prince David Kawananakoa. The Home Rulers also had a large majority in the first legislature. But after this first election the Home Rule Party rapidly dwindled away and after 1912 ceased to exist. In 1902 Wilcox was defeated by the Republican candidate, Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole, and thereafter Prince Kuhio was returned to Congress at each election until his death in 1922. This prince of Hawaii became a national figure, and gave devoted service in the interest of his beloved island home.



Governor Charles J. McCarthy (1918–1921)

Reconciliation. Governor W. F. Frear, in his inaugural address in 1907, used the following words: "Seven brief years [under territorial government], and yet what grand results, if we but pause to view them! — years, it is true, largely of adjustment to new conditions but equally years of advance. Natural feelings of sadness and even of bitterness over loss of independence — feelings not confined to Hawaiians alone — have passed from the stage of outward manifestation and in large measure from existence; there is every reason for belief that the Hawaiians will soon have passed from a state of reconciliation to one of the same ardent loyalty and patriotism towards their adopted country that characterized their attitude toward their former country." Succeeding years have shown the truth of Governor Frear's prophetic words. This happy result came about largely because of the fine example set by the Hawaiian *alii*, and notably by Queen Liliuokalani herself. The later years of her life exhibited a gentleness of spirit little suspected by some who saw only the stern side of the queen's character in the stormy years before 1900. When she died in 1917 there was sincere and universal mourning throughout the whole Territory. The fullness

Governor Wallace R. Farrington (1921–)

of reconciliation was again demonstrated following the death of former President and Governor Sanford B. Dole, which occurred in June, 1926. At that time the entire population united in paying honor to the memory of this man whose life for half a century had been so closely interwoven with the history of Hawaii.

Questions and Exercises

If you were asked to list those things which you feel are most dear to you, what would you put down? You would probably put down those things with which you are in daily contact but to which you give very little thought of love or loyalty from day to day. You seldom look up at our hills and say to yourself "How beautiful they are," but you would miss their beauty if they were replaced by flat, barren land. You play and work and even quarrel with your brothers and sisters from day to day and do not think about how much you care for them, but if they become ill and are in danger of dying, you realize how dear they are to you.

Think, then, how you would have felt if you had been a young Hawaiian at about noon on August 12, 1898. Honolulu is very quiet, and warm. There is a very faint breeze. From your seat on a fence near the Armory on Hotel Street you can see the red, white, and blue stripes of your flag stirring against the flagstaff. Across in the palace grounds there is a hushed buzz. Vaguely you think, "This is the day our people talk so sadly about." You are conscious that the buzz has ceased. A loud report of a cannon startles you, then another, and another. There are twenty-one of them. Then silence. The street is deserted except for two men coming toward you. Then music. Into your mind flashes the thought "Hawaii Ponoi." Many times you've heard it. It makes you feel queer — proud and tall and good! You raise your eyes; they find your flag — why, it's moved; it's coming down, so slowly. How queer! The music is slow — it is sad. The men on the street pass; they look serious and one says: "Hail and farewell!" That's what it is. Farewell! That thing that has been part of your daily life, part of your being, is going, so slowly, so sadly, so surely. There is a pause in the music. There is an air of waiting about you. Quick, proud music comes to you; up the flagstaff skims a strip of color. It is limp; a breeze stirs; it opens out —

red, white, and blue — stars and stripes — it is beautiful, but it is not yours! Can it ever replace yours?

1. *a.* To what flag have the Hawaiians transferred their loyalty since the days of the monarchy?
   b. Do you think this was an easy thing to do? Why?
   c. Are there any people in Hawaii to-day who are slowly but surely transferring their loyalty from one flag to another? What are some of the difficulties which stand in their way?
   d. Why did the Hawaiians transfer their loyalty from the Hawaiian flag to that of the Americans? Why are other groups here in Hawaii transferring their loyalty to the American flag?

2. When the U. S. was at war with Spain the Hawaiian government did a clever thing which showed the American government how valuable a possession our islands would be. What was that thing?

3. In a previous chapter we decided that a constitution was necessary in forming a government, just as specifications and plans are necessary in building a home.
   a. Has the Territory of Hawaii a constitution?
   b. What is it called?
   c. Who granted it?
   d. How can it be changed or amended?
   e. Into how many branches does it divide our government?
   f. In what unusual manner are the heads of two of these branches chosen?

4. *a.* In your American history there is a statement, "The New England town meetings were schools of government and politics." Can you explain what that means?
   b. Have we any "schools of government and politics" here in Hawaii? How many kinds are there? What are they?

XXVII

HAWAII AND THE NATION

The army and navy in Hawaii. Hawaii is an important link in the chain of national defense and because of that fact the army and navy occupy a conspicuous place in the everyday life of the islands, particularly of the island of Oahu. The relations between the Territory and the nation have to a considerable extent centered about the development of plans to make Hawaii a powerful military and naval outpost of the United States.

The first American troops assigned to duty in Hawaii arrived at Honolulu a few days after the stars and stripes were raised over the islands. A temporary post, called Camp McKinley, was established at Waikiki. For several years this was the only military encampment, while surveys and plans were being made for a permanent post.

In 1905 contracts were let for the building of a post on the Kahauiki reservation near Honolulu. The first buildings were completed and occupied in the summer of 1907. The post was named Fort Shafter, in honor of William R. Shafter, one of the generals in the Spanish-American War. This was the first of a series of forts established for the purpose of defending the harbor and city of Honolulu. Fort Shafter is now the headquarters of the Hawaiian Department.

The second post was Fort Armstrong, built on the Kaakaukukui reef near the entrance to the harbor. This post was first occupied in 1913 by a company of the Coast Artillery, but is now used by the Quartermaster Corps. Farther to the east, along the shore of Waikiki, lies Fort DeRussy. Before these two forts could

be built it was necessary to fill up a large area of low, swampy land. Still farther to the east is Fort Ruger, occupying Diamond Head, a site which looks as if nature had intended it for purposes of defense. This post was first occupied in 1909 by two companies of the Coast Artillery who did the pioneer work of clearing and laying out the grounds. To the west of Honolulu, at the

Camp McKinley

entrance of Pearl River, lies Fort Kamehameha, the last of the coast defenses of Oahu to be completed. The site was acquired by the national government in 1901; but it was not occupied until 1913, and the fort was completed much later. The fort is named in honor of Kamehameha the Great.

The history of Schofield Barracks dates from the year 1908, when the war department gave orders for the building of a military post on the Leilehua plains in the central part of Oahu. In January, 1909, the first hastily constructed buildings were occupied by a cavalry regiment. At that time life at Scho-

Photograph by 11th Photo Section, Air Service, U. S. A.

Schofield Barracks

field was not as pleasant as it has become in later years. In 1913 Hawaii was made a separate army department. A few years later the national government decided to enlarge the garrison at Schofield and to build substantial concrete barracks to house the troops stationed there. The carrying out of these plans has made Schofield Barracks the largest military post in the United States.

The Army Air Service was established in Hawaii in 1918. The main station at Luke Field on Ford Island in Pearl Harbor has been developed into a well-equipped and efficient flying base. A subsidiary station has been established on the Schofield Barracks reservation.

The work of the navy in Hawaii has centered about Pearl Harbor. In order to make that harbor of much use to a modern fleet, two things were necessary: (1) to cut down the coral bar across the entrance; and (2) to construct a large dry dock. Work on the bar was begun not long after annexation and was carried to completion within a few years. But it was not until 1908 that Congress authorized the secretary of the navy to establish a naval station at Pearl Harbor.

Work on the construction of a dry dock was commenced as soon as plans could be drawn and a contract let. The project was one that tested engineering skill and patience. In February, 1913, it was nearing completion when the foundation gave way and the work of years was destroyed in a few minutes. The plans were then changed to provide for a much larger dock, and a different method of construction was adopted. The work was successfully completed and dedicated in 1919. In addition to the dry dock, wharves, machine shops, and other necessary buildings have been constructed.

The joint army and navy maneuvers of 1925, carried on in Hawaii, were designed to test the strength of the island defenses and show what further developments are necessary in order to make Hawaii safe against attack and effective as a military and naval base in time of war.

Development of commercial harbors. The national government has an interest in the improvement of harbors for commercial purposes, and has spent large sums in development work at Honolulu, Hilo, Kahului, and Nawiliwili. This will eventually give each of the larger islands one first-class harbor. In addition there are several smaller harbors for whose development the

Federal Building in Honolulu

Territory is spending money and asking no assistance from the national government.

Hawaii National Park. An act of signal benefit to the Territory and the nation was the creation of the Hawaii National Park. This was done by act of Congress in August, 1916, and the park was formally dedicated in 1921. It has the same status as the Yellowstone and other national parks and is open throughout the year. The park is in three divisions, two on the island of Hawaii and one on the island of Maui. The two divisions on Hawaii include the volcano of Kilauea and a large area covered with crater pits, tropical forest, and fern jungles, and Mokuaweo-

weo, the summit crater of Mauna Loa. The Maui section takes in the immense crater of Haleakala with its interesting prehistoric structures. A territorial automobile road more than thirty miles in length from Hilo to Kilauea indicates how nation and Territory coöperate in enterprises for the good of both.

Other federal activities in the Territory. The Hawaii Agricultural Experiment Station was established by the United States government in 1901 to aid in solving the agricultural problems of the Territory. The station has done much useful work. It has given particular attention to the improvement of such plants as the banana, the papaia, and the alligator pear. Its chief work has been to teach the value of diversification, that is to say, the raising of a greater variety of food crops.

The United States Public Health Service maintains a rigid inspection of vessels and passengers coming into the Territory, thus safeguarding the health of both island and mainland ports. It has also worked in coöperation with territorial officials on problems of disease and sanitation.

Honolulu is the headquarters of the Nineteenth Lighthouse District, which embraces all the islands of the Territory as well as certain other islands in the Pacific. The local station of the United States Weather Bureau also does efficient work. The radio broadcasting of weather conditions is of great importance to shipping, and the collection of data on climatic conditions is of value both to science and to the general public.

The United States Geological Survey has coöperated with the Territory in several important ways. It has made maps of Oahu, Kauai, Molokai, Lanai, and Maui, and is engaged in mapping the island of Hawaii. It also has charge of studies of the water supplies of the Territory — determining the amount of water which flows in streams and pointing out places where wells should be drilled. Beginning with 1925, the Geological Survey is directing the work at the Volcano Observatory at Kilauea.

The Archives Building in Honolulu is an example of national

and territorial relations. After annexation there was some talk of removing the Hawaiian government archives to Washington. This would have caused much inconvenience, since the records have to be consulted constantly for land titles. It was therefore arranged that the records would be allowed to remain in Hawaii if they were suitably housed. Accordingly the legislature of 1903 appropriated $75,000 for this purpose, and in 1907 the Archives Building was completed. The first librarian, R. C. Lydecker, served until his death in 1924, when he was succeeded by the journalist-historian, A. P. Taylor. This department of the government has rendered a service of great value in making historical documents accessible to students and investigators.

Hawaii in the World War. The United States formally entered the World War on April 6, 1917, but Hawaii's participation in war work began long before that date. In September, 1914, the War Relief Committee of Hawaii was organized, and two years later the Hawaiian Allied War Relief Committee. Still later, after the United States entered the war, Red Cross chapters were formed on the different islands. All of these were finally combined in the Hawaiian Chapter of the American Red Cross, with four branches.

The work of these organizations was carried on with the greatest devotion and efficiency. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were contributed directly for relief and Red Cross work. Surgical dressings, hospital supplies, and clothing to the value of more than half a million dollars were prepared and shipped from Honolulu to the war areas. Civilian relief in Hawaii; canteen and camp service (reading and writing rooms, moving pictures, telephones, information bureaus, etc.) in the army posts in the Territory; instruction classes in Red Cross work; a Red Cross shop — these and many other activities gave opportunity for hundreds of people, especially women and children, to do their part in the time of crisis.

Besides these home activities, Hawaii contributed the services of many volunteers for active Red Cross and relief work in war areas, both in Europe and in Siberia.

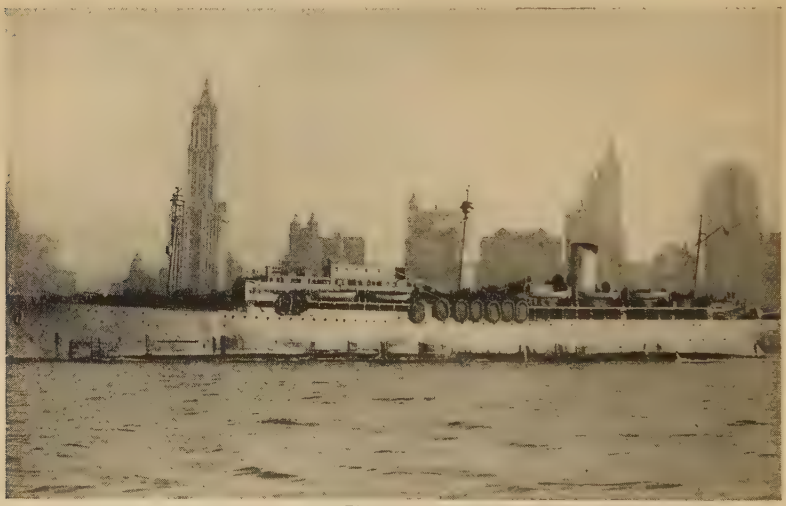
Hawaii cheerfully gave her share of fighting men for direct military service. Even before the United States joined the allies, scores of men from Hawaii had volunteered for service in the British and French armies. After April 6, 1917, men of Hawaii entered the army and navy of the United States in three ways: (1) by volunteering for service in the regular army or in the navy; (2) by being called into service as reserve officers or as members of the naval militia or the National Guard; (3) by being drafted into the United States Army or Navy through the operation of the Selective Service Law.

There were so many volunteer enlistments from the Territory that Hawaii was not required to furnish any men for the first national draft. But in the summer of 1918 Hawaii was called upon to furnish about 4,000 men for the National Army. At about the same time the National Guard was called into federal service. These men were not sent overseas, but were used to replace the regular army units which were withdrawn from the Territory. Nevertheless, Hawaii was well represented on the battlefields of Europe, and gave her quota both to the great army of men who sacrificed their lives for their country's cause and to that other army of men who came out of the war sick and disabled for life.

The people of Hawaii responded generously to all calls for money to carry on the war and for various relief funds. The five government loans brought in subscriptions of almost thirty million dollars, the quotas in each case being oversubscribed. Subscription to other funds brought the Territory's war contributions up to nearly thirty-five million dollars.

During the war period there was a serious attempt to make the Territory self-supporting so far as food was concerned. The United States Food Administration exercised a control over the

use of various kinds of food. Hawaii joined the rest of the nation in having "meatless" and "wheatless" days. Agricultural organizations and agencies aided with good advice on the growing of crops. School children raised gardens of vegetables. By these and other means it was possible to reduce the amount of food that had to be imported into the Territory.



Photograph by courtesy of the Matson Navigation Company.

Steamer *Maui* of Matson Navigation Company in War Service

The *Maui* served as a transport from March 6, 1918, to September 8, 1919, making thirteen trans-Atlantic round trips and carrying 37,344 troops. The picture shows the steamer in New York harbor on her return from France with a load of American soldiers.

The war affected life in Hawaii in many ways. In April, 1918, the liquor traffic was stopped on the island of Oahu by order of President Wilson, and in August of that year an act of Congress brought prohibition to the whole Territory. These were war measures. Permanent prohibition came later by virtue of an amendment to the national constitution.

The tourist traffic was interrupted and almost ceased. Ocean travel was seriously interfered with. Nearly all the steamers on

the lines between Hawaii and the mainland were taken over by the government for use as transports on the Atlantic Ocean. Several of these ships were sunk by German submarines.

After the war an organization came into existence which may have much influence on public affairs. This is the American Legion, an organization of those who were in military service during the World War. The Legion has shown its influence by gaining recognition of Hawaii's point of view at the national conventions of the organization. In the Territory its activities have centered around employment and insurance of service men, honor to the soldier dead, and Americanization.

Hawaii's " Bill of Rights." Ever since Hawaii became a part of the United States, there has existed in the minds of a large number of people on the mainland, including members of Congress, a misunderstanding in regard to Hawaii's status in the American Union. The islands have been spoken of as if they were a " possession " or a " colony," instead of being an integral part of the nation, only one step removed from statehood.

In 1921 Governor W. R. Farrington in his annual report called attention to the fact that the national government every year receives large sums of money from the Territory, but that Hawaii was left out of various general appropriations by Congress, mainly for education, good roads, and farm loans, in all of which the Territory felt it should rightfully have a part.

In 1923 the legislature passed an act formally asserting the Territory's right to the same treatment from Congress as that received by the states. " Hawaii carries all the financial responsibilities and burdens of a state, so far as the federal government is concerned. . . . It should therefore be accorded all the benefits and privileges enjoyed by states."

This "Bill of Rights," as it is called, gives a full statement of the Territory's claims to recognition, quoting from treaties, acts of Congress, and decisions of the Supreme Court. Attention is called to the military record of Hawaii in the World War, and to

the great amounts of money paid as taxes into the national treasury. It ends by providing for a commission to work with the delegate in Congress to secure legislation that shall include Hawaii "in all Acts in aid of good roads, education, farm loans, maternity, home economics, training in agriculture, trade and industry, and other Acts of a like nature."

At the following session of Congress, the delegate from Hawaii, Hon. W. P. Jarrett, introduced a bill to include Hawaii in the various acts referred to. In order to show the national government that the people of the Territory were thoroughly in earnest in the matter, Governor Farrington visited Washington and there worked long and faithfully in coöperation with Mr. Jarrett in support of the bill. The bill was finally passed by Congress and signed by President Coolidge on April 10, 1924, thus bringing to a close one chapter in the history of Hawaii's relations with the national government.

Questions and Exercises

1. We are most likely to find the strongest defenses of a country:
   a. Near large cities.
   b. On inland waterways.
   c. In the greatest gaps of mountain ranges.
   d. Along the seacoast.
   e. Near boundaries.
   f. On the more important national highways.

Copy the above list in your notebook and cross out the letters before those statements which are not correct. List the remaining statements in the order of their importance. Be able to explain why you have arranged them in those positions.

2. The greatest single expenditure of national funds in the United States is on the army and navy. After Hawaii became a Territory, one of the earliest acts of the national government was the establishment of military defenses. The reason for this was:
   a. It is always customary to station soldiers in the various states of the Union.
   b. It was done to prevent the Hawaiians from overthrowing the government.

c. Since the Hawaiian Islands are one of the entrances to the United States, their position in the Pacific became of greater importance than ever before.

d. There might be danger of war between the United States and another Pacific power.

Choose that statement which seems most reasonable to you and give your arguments in defense of your choice.

3. Where is the largest army post in the United States? Why do you suppose it was built in that part of the United States?

4. We have talked of conservation in other chapters. You have probably seen pictures of some of the National Parks which Congress has reserved as a part of its program of conservation. What national park have we in Hawaii? Why?

5. Make a list in your notebook of the various ways in which the people of Hawaii come in direct contact with representatives of the federal government.

6. List some of the ways in which the "Bill of Rights" will be a benefit to Hawaii.

XXVIII

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Thirty years ago Hawaii had one principal, or basic, industry — the production of sugar. To-day it has two — the production of sugar and the production of canned pineapples. The economic history of Hawaii during the last third of a century is the history of the development of these two industries and their influence in various directions.

Growth of the sugar industry. In 1895 the production of sugar in Hawaii was 150,000 tons. One of the leading planters stated that this was undoubtedly the largest amount that would ever be produced on the islands. But just twenty years later the production was 600,000 tons, and in 1925 it was more than 775,000. During all of this period the sugar industry has had the benefit of the protective-tariff laws of the United States. The plantations have also had a fairly adequate supply of laborers. These are important points; but the principal reasons for the immense growth of the sugar industry are to be found in co-operation among the planters and in the use of improved, scientific methods. Nowhere in the world has science been more fully applied to industry than it has in Hawaii, and nowhere has the result been more striking.

The Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association. Through this organization the men engaged in the sugar industry have been able to work in coöperation. The association was formed in 1895 as the successor of the old Planters' Labor and Supply Company. In that year the Experiment Station — the most important feature of the association's activities — was started.

In the thirty years since 1895 the Experiment Station has cost the planters over $3,000,000, but the benefit received from it has been many times that amount.

In order to secure profitable crops of sugar year after year from the same land, it is necessary to use large quantities of commercial fertilizer and an immense volume of water. Different kinds of land require different treatment in both these respects. By careful study and experimentation scientists are able to determine what kind of fertilizer to use on any particular piece of land and how to apply it, how much water to use and how and when to use it in order to obtain the best results. The need of a scientific study of the fertilizer problem was the main reason for the establishment of the Experiment Station. But since its foundation the work of the station has been gradually extended to other problems, until now its staff of scientific experts is engaged in studying every phase of the sugar industry from the first plowing of the ground to the final step in the refining process. In recent years the work has been still further broadened to include the problem of protecting, improving, and extending the forests which are so necessary in saving the natural water supply of the islands. In many of these activities the Experiment Station has coöperated not only with the plantations but also with the territorial and national governments.

The war on insect pests. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the work of the Experiment Station has been the study and control of insect pests and diseases which attack sugar cane and which, unchecked, would completely destroy the industry. Among the thousands of insects and bugs in the world, some are useful and some injurious. The entomologists, who study insects, have found that nearly all injurious insects have insect enemies which, under favorable conditions, will destroy them. There are many bugs and insects which do harm to sugar cane, some which attack the roots, some which attack the stalks, and others which attack the leaves. In Hawaii there are three such

pests which have been particularly destructive, the leaf-hopper, the cane-borer, and the Anomala beetle.

In the fight against these pests, scientists have been sent to many different parts of the world to find their natural enemies. The search extended over many years, but in each case was finally successful. An enemy of the cane-borer, called the Tachinid fly, was found in New Guinea and brought from there in 1910. The Scolia wasp, an enemy of the Anomala beetle, was found in the Philippines a few years later. Several different insects were brought to Hawaii to fight the leaf-hopper, which proved to be the hardest pest to get under control. Its most effective enemy is a bug which sucks the eggs of the leaf-hopper. This bug was brought from Australia in 1920. In the reports of the Experiment Station from year to year we can follow the progress of the battle between these beneficial and injurious insects until at last the injurious ones were held in check. But the battle is an unending one, and it is necessary always to be on the watch for new pests that may appear at any time.

Development of new cane varieties. In the fight against diseases of sugar cane various methods are used. One of the most effective is to develop new varieties of cane which are able to resist disease. For a long time the variety of cane most extensively grown was the one called Lahaina cane, which is particularly rich in sugar. About 1900, for some mysterious reason, Lahaina cane began to fail. This was a very serious matter; but fortunately, as a result of the work of the Experiment Station, new varieties of cane were at hand to take the place of Lahaina. The best of the new varieties is one called *H-109*, developed from seed planted in 1905. During the last ten years H-109 has rapidly taken the place of Lahaina on most of the plantations. The work of developing new varieties and improving old ones is going on constantly. Many of the plantations carry on experimental work like that of the Experiment Station, both independently and in coöperation with the station.

Irrigation. In the earliest years of the Hawaiian sugar industry the cane fields were not irrigated. The later growth of the industry has been due in great part to the enormous amount of water used in irrigating the growing cane. Irrigation has helped in two ways: (1) by increasing the yield of plantations already in existence; (2) by making it possible to lay out new plantations on land which was of no value for sugar cane without irrigation. Some of the biggest and most productive plantations are of the latter type, a notable example being the Ewa Plantation on the island of Oahu.

A stool of H-109 sugar cane

The water is obtained from two sources: (1) from mountain streams, by means of ditches and tunnels; (2) from underground basins, by means of wells and pumps. Since the first big ditches were dug on the island of Maui, many others have been constructed. Each of the four principal islands has had a share in the development. One of the most striking features is the great amount of tunnel work required. The Olokele ditch on Kauai is thirteen miles long and eight miles of it consists of tunnels. The Waiahole water project on the island of Oahu, completed in 1916, involved the

cutting of more than eleven miles of tunnels. The purpose of this project was to collect water from streams on the north side of Oahu and carry it by a tunnel through the Koolau range of mountains to the Oahu Sugar Plantation.

The first artesian wells in Hawaii were drilled about 1880 in the vicinity of Honolulu. Since then many other wells have been drilled in the same region and in other parts of the islands.

Mechanical cane loader at work on an Hawaiian sugar plantation

The Ewa Plantation near Honolulu has more than sixty wells, which furnish over 100,000,000 gallons of water daily. Some plantations obtain part of their water from wells and part from mountain streams.

Improvements in mills and methods. Hand in hand with the protection and improvement of sugar cane and the development of water supplies there has been going on an equally important improvement in mills and machinery and in methods of manufacture. The typical sugar mill of to-day is an enormous and

complicated mass of machinery, so powerful and perfect that it gets from the sugar cane practically every bit of the sugar which it contains. Labor-saving devices are used both in field and factory, and operations are watched at every step to see that nothing goes wrong.

The human side. The sugar industry employs a large number of workers. In 1924 there were more than 45,000 laborers on the sugar plantations — about one sixth of the entire population of the Territory — the greater part of them being Filipinos and Japanese. Hawaii has had, and still has, labor troubles. But the sugar planters, like all other employers, have learned that contented workers do the best work, and in recent years they are giving more and more attention to improving the living conditions of the laborers — building better houses for them to live in, with proper attention to sanitation and water supply; maintaining well-equipped hospitals; and providing facilities for recreation. Nearly all plantations have club houses and moving picture theaters for their employees. The Sugar Planters' Association has a special Department of Industrial Service to study all such questions and furnish plans and suggestions to the plantation companies, while many of the plantations have their own welfare workers.

The pineapple industry. While the history of the sugar industry in Hawaii runs back for a hundred years, the pineapple industry is of recent growth. Thirty-five years ago it was hardly thought of. During the last quarter of a century its value has risen from practically nothing to thirty or thirty-five million dollars a year. In the production of canned pineapples Hawaii to-day leads the world, both in quantity and quality.

Pineapples have been grown in the islands for more than a hundred years. During the whaling era a considerable number of them were sold each year to the whalers. At that period they were raised chiefly in the Kona district of the island of Hawaii. During the fifteen years prior to annexation several men became

interested in raising pineapples and experimented with different varieties which they imported. They discovered that the Smooth Cayenne was the best variety for all purposes; that variety is the one still grown almost exclusively in Hawaii. The leader in the industry during this early period was Captain John Kidwell, but

Pineapple field on the island of Oahu

he had several associates and competitors. Fresh pineapples were exported to the Pacific Coast; about 1891 the canning of pineapples was begun and carried on in a small way. In 1899 the total export value of fresh and canned pineapples amounted to less than $15,000. In the period before 1900 the industry was confined chiefly to the Ewa district of Oahu.

Before annexation the pineapple was in an experimental and introductory stage. The real history of the industry dates from

1901, when the Hawaiian Pineapple Company was organized by James D. Dole. This company began with a capital stock of $20,000 and a plantation of twelve acres at Wahiawa on the central plateau of Oahu. A small cannery was built and the first crop, which amounted to 1,893 cases, was canned in 1903. From that beginning the company has grown until it has to-day, in Honolulu, the largest fruit cannery in the world. Other companies have been organized and the extent of the plantations has increased with great rapidity. In 1925 more than 8,700,000 cases of pineapples were canned in the Territory of Hawaii.

Oahu has always been the center of the pineapple industry, but there are companies operating on each of the larger islands. In 1922 the Hawaiian Pineapple Company bought nearly all of the island of Lanai and soon after began the work of developing a harbor in the island, making a settlement, and laying out a plantation. The extension of pineapple plantations has not caused a reduction of the acreage in sugar cane. The two crops require different conditions; pineapples are not irrigated and can be grown at a higher elevation than sugar cane. The growth of the pineapple industry, therefore, has put to use a great amount of land that is not suitable for sugar cane.

What has been said about coöperation and the use of improved, scientific methods in the sugar industry is equally true of the pineapple industry. The latter has, indeed, profited by the experience of the former. There is an Association of Hawaiian Pineapple Canners which was organized, under a different name, in 1908. In scientific investigation there has been a cordial cooperation between the pineapple canners and the sugar planters. A contract was made by which the staff of the Sugar Planters' Experiment Station undertook to study the agricultural and technical or scientific problems connected with the pineapple industry. A piece of land at Wahiawa was laid out as a pineapple experiment station, and the principal work of this character is still done at that place. Recently an arrangement was made by

which the University of Hawaii has charge of the pineapple experiment station. Results of the highest importance have already been obtained from this experimental work. Nearly all

Photograph by Edgeworth.

Scene in an Hawaiian pineapple cannery

The Ginaca machine (not shown in this picture) cuts the pineapple into a cylinder by removing the outer shell and core of the fruit and trimming off the ends. The cylinders of fruit then pass to the operators shown on the right of the picture, who trim off any portions of the shell that are left by the Ginaca machine. The fruit is next passed through the machine in the center of the picture, where it is cut into slices. The slices are then graded and placed in cans according to their quality, as shown on the left of the picture. Notice the guards over various parts of the machine for the protection of the workers.

of the special machinery and technical processes used in the pineapple canneries have been invented or perfected in Hawaii.

The pineapple canners have had to solve one problem that did not confront the sugar planters. When the Hawaiian pineapple industry was in its infancy, canned pineapple was an

unknown product in the commercial world. There was no demand for it. The pineapple canners, therefore, had to create a demand and build up a market. This was accomplished by means of extensive advertising campaigns, in which the Association of Hawaiian Pineapple Canners has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Dependent industries. The development of the sugar and pineapple industries has called into existence and built up a number of other industrial and financial organizations. Most important of these are the banks, sugar factors, and trust companies which handle the financial problems involved. The Honolulu Iron Works has grown to mammoth size under the stimulus of the sugar industry. To-day it enjoys a world-wide reputation and has installed sugar mills both in the Philippine Islands and in Cuba. A fertilizer factory and a can factory have been established to supply the local demand. Transportation facilities, provided by steamships, railroads, and automobiles, have grown from year to year, keeping pace with the development of the Territory's basic industries. One very important aid to industry and commerce has been the improvement of means of communication through the development of telephone, cable, and radio service.

Coffee, rice, bananas. It may be asked, What has become of the rice and coffee industries, which in earlier years gave promise of being permanent and important? In reply it must be said that neither rice nor coffee has quite fulfilled the promise of early days, though both have been of considerable importance. Sugar and pineapples have possessed to a remarkable degree the ability to stand up under discouragement and to adapt themselves to local conditions. Rice and coffee have not exhibited these characteristics to the same extent. A study of their history in Hawaii shows that they have fluctuated greatly in value.

At the end of the reign of Kamehameha III coffee was a very promising crop and only sugar surpassed it as an agricultural

product in Hawaii. About 1862 rice took the place of coffee as the product next in importance after sugar and held that place for more than twenty-five years. Exports of rice reached their highest value in 1887 and 1888, when they amounted to more than half a million dollars each year. In the meantime coffee had gradually fallen off, until in 1885 it nearly disappeared from the list of exports. But after those years coffee rose and rice dropped off, until in 1899 coffee took second place again and held it until about 1905, when the rapid growth of the pineapple industry shouldered both rice and coffee to one side. Rice reached its lowest ebb in 1904; then took a sudden and spectacular spurt and for a few years struggled with coffee for third place in the list of Hawaiian exports. Since 1910 coffee has definitely taken its place as Hawaii's third most valuable agricultural product, but in view of past history it is hardly safe to make predictions for the future. In 1919 a million dollars' worth of coffee was exported from the Territory. Since then it has shown a tendency to fall off. In 1924 the value of rice exported was less than $12,000; of coffee, a little over $550,000. These figures do not take into account the rice and coffee consumed within the Territory.

Three principal reasons have been given for the decline of the rice industry: (1) the gradual disappearance of the older Chinese, who were the rice growers of Hawaii; (2) the increase in the number of Japanese, who do not like the rice grown here and prefer to import rice from Japan; (3) the development of the rice industry in California, which has taken away the best market for Hawaiian rice.

The banana industry has, on the whole, had a more consistent development than either rice or coffee, although it has never reached the high marks set by those industries. Since about 1860 the number of bananas exported has shown a fairly steady increase. At one period (1889–1896) bananas for eight years held third place in the list of exports. The industry has

attained its greatest development in recent years, the export value in 1923 being nearly a quarter of a million dollars.

Livestock industry. Hides and wool have from an early day afforded a substantial return to the men engaged in the cattle and sheep industries — industries which have furnished some of the most picturesque features of Hawaiian life. These products have at various times held third — even second — place in the list of exports. In 1920 the combined export value of hides and wool was in excess of half a million dollars. Here, as in the case of bananas, the greatest development has been in recent years. An encouraging feature is the strong effort being made to improve the quality of the livestock. Some Hawaiian cattle ranches and dairies have imported pedigreed animals which compare favorably with the best to be found anywhere.

Questions and Exercises

1. From the following list choose the word or words which correctly complete this sentence to be entered in your notebook:

Up to the time of annexation, the chief source of prosperity in Hawaii was due to: *a*. commerce, *b*. shipping, *c*. agriculture, *d*. cane growing, *e*. rice raising, *f*. tourists. Is this true to-day?

2. On the mainland of the United States, where farming lands are plentiful, it is possible for a farmer to do several things which help to prevent the soil from becoming exhausted. Make a list of all the things which you think he might be able to do to accomplish this purpose.

3. Since the World War, many school children have continued to plant the vegetable gardens which they began at that time. Most of these gardens are small, because the students have only a limited amount of land. We all know that the size and the quality of the crop depend on the amount of nourishment in the soil. There is an old saying, "You cannot eat your cake and have it too." To what might that saying apply in the case of your home garden? What are you forced to do when all the nourishment in the soil has been used by the growing plants?

Here is a list of things which raise serious problems for a man engaged in agriculture. Copy them in your notebook and check those

things which you think play an important part in the agricultural life here: *a.* worn-out soil; *b.* severe wind storms, such as hurricanes; *c.* limited amount of land available for agriculture; *d.* unexpected cold spells; *e.* insect pests; *f.* barren soil; *g.* limited water supply; *h.* difficulty in obtaining workmen.

4. Tell what has been done here in Hawaii to remedy the difficulties in the list you made for question 3. What has been done by the government; what has been done by private groups of people? What have the results been?

5. What is one natural resource without which no community can exist? What is the situation with regard to it here? Why is the situation here a more vital one than it is on the mainland? Is there any reason to feel alarm for the future, with regard to this condition? Why?

XXIX

RACIAL ASSOCIATIONS

Increasing complexity of population. The industrial development of Hawaii — in particular the growth of the sugar industry — resulted in bringing to this country large numbers of immigrant laborers for work on the plantations. At various times the government tried to control this inflow of aliens. Thus, in the decade of the eighties, the government tried to stop the coming of more Chinese, and, in the decade of the nineties, to restrict the immigration of Japanese. In the period just before annexation the determined effort to stop Japanese immigration arose from a feeling that if it continued Hawaii would become a Japanese colony. Annexation to the United States put an end to that danger, and the immigration of Japanese went on until 1907. It was then stopped (except for " picture brides," brides chosen from their pictures) by the so-called " gentleman's agreement " between the United States and Japan.

To counteract the influx of Orientals, the government spent large sums of money to bring in people from the South Sea islands and from Europe. After annexation these efforts were directed chiefly to promoting the immigration of Portuguese, Spaniards, and Russians. Between 1905 and 1914 about 15,000 men, women, and children of those nationalities were brought here under the auspices of the Territorial Board of Immigration. But these immigrants showed a great tendency to move on to California as soon as they could save up enough money. The present Portuguese population of Hawaii is the result chiefly of the earlier Portuguese immigration during the reign of Kalakaua.

In spite of the effort made to bring in people from the Pacific islands and Europe, history shows that the labor needs of Hawaii's industries have been supplied principally by the immigration of large numbers of people from the Orient. This Oriental immigration has come in three great waves — first the Chinese, next the Japanese, and finally the Filipinos. The Filipino immigration began in 1906 and is still in progress.

In the early days many people supposed that these immigrant laborers from the Orient would not become permanent residents, but that they would stay for a few years and then return to their native lands. Some of them did return to their homelands, but many others were so well pleased with the conditions of life in Hawaii and the opportunities found here that they have stayed and made this pleasant land their home. In the days of the monarchy several hundred Chinese were naturalized, but since that time the naturalization of Chinese and Japanese has not been permitted. But all the children born in Hawaii are American citizens. The result is that while the Japanese and Chinese make up almost half of the total population of Hawaii, less than half of them are aliens. Considerably more than fifty per cent of the Chinese and Japanese in the Territory are American citizens by reason of the fact that they were born in Hawaii. This proportion will increase as time goes by. Not only are they citizens, but they are becoming voters and will help to shape the political future of Hawaii. In 1924 there were 3,700 registered voters of Chinese or Japanese ancestry. This number will also increase with the passing years.

This does not tell the whole story of Hawaii's complex population. Besides the Japanese and Chinese there are 70,000 Caucasians of half a dozen nationalities, 42,000 Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, 40,000 Filipinos, and 6,000 Koreans.

The problem of Americanization. It will thus be seen that the industrial development of Hawaii has given the Territory a tremendous problem to solve. But it has also given it a rare

opportunity to prove that East and West can meet and mingle in friendship and in loyalty to a common flag. The problem and the opportunity go together. The former is usually spoken of as the problem of Americanization and is commonly stated in this way: If Hawaii is to continue to be in truth an *American* commonwealth, her complex group of citizens of alien ancestry must be Americanized; since so many of their parents are from the Oriental countries, it means that scores of thousands of children, whose ancestral cultural background is Oriental, must be brought up to have the social and governmental ideals characteristic of a typical American community of the mainland portion of the United States.

Can this be done? The people of Hawaii believe that it can be done and that it is being done. The greatest and most effective agency of Americanization is the public school. It is fortunate that the public school system of Hawaii was developed, even during the days of the monarchy, in accordance with American ideas and largely by men of American origin. A compulsory school law and the general interest of the people have had the effect of bringing practically all the children into the schools. Annexation to the United States did not make necessary any radical change in the school system. What has been necessary was to expand and perfect the system already in existence so that it would be able to care for the great increase in numbers in recent years and to meet the special difficulties resulting from the large percentage of school children of Oriental ancestry. Educational authorities recognize that Hawaii has one of the best school systems in the United States. The success of Americanization will be largely an achievement of this excellent school system. The University of Hawaii is contributing greatly to the desired result by training students of many races for leadership along American lines.

There are, however, other agencies of Americanization, such as the public library, the churches, the Young Men's and Young

Women's Christian Associations, the American Legion, the National Guard, the Boy Scouts, and clubs and social organizations of many kinds. The whole spirit of the community is American. The leaders in all lines of endeavor are for the most part men of American education, and all, without any important

Photograph by R. J. Baker

A group of school children in Hawaii with a famous motion-picture actress

exception, are in sympathy with American ideals. The traditional friendliness of Hawaii, the spirit of *aloha*, love, which the Hawaiian people have indelibly impressed on the country, has been and is of great service in breaking down racial prejudices and making it possible for different groups to come into closer contact.

Obstacles to Americanization. There have been some obstacles to Americanization. One of these has been the mere fact of numbers, the fact that there are so many to be trained in American ideals and so few who already possess those ideals through

inheritance. Two other obstacles have been the foreign-language schools and the problem of dual citizenship.

Foreign-language schools. The foreign-language schools in Hawaii originated in much the same way as foreign-language schools in other parts of the United States, and for much the same reasons. The earliest schools of this kind (other than English schools) were Chinese, German, and Portuguese. The first Japanese-language school was organized in 1896 by a Christian Japanese who was engaged in religious work among his own people. All of the early Japanese schools were begun under Christian auspices; but later many schools were established in connection with Buddhist temples. In 1919 there were 185 foreign-language schools in the Territory, of which 163 were Japanese with about 20,000 pupils.

At first no objection was raised to these schools, since they seemed to serve various useful purposes. As time passed, however, particularly after the World War, many thoughtful persons began to feel that they had some undesirable features. In 1919–20 a commission of the national Bureau of Education made a survey of education in Hawaii and came to the conclusion that the foreign-language schools were "obstacles standing squarely in the road" of the work of Americanization, because of the character of the textbooks used and the qualifications of some of the teachers, and because the study of the foreign languages by very young children interfered with their learning the English language.

In view of these facts the territorial government has attempted to control and regulate the foreign-language schools in such a way as to remove or lessen their objectionable features. It is hoped that they will cease to be obstacles to Americanization; and there is good reason to expect that the schools themselves will disappear in due course of time.

Dual citizenship. The problem of dual, or double, citizenship arises because each nation makes its own laws on the subject of

citizenship without regard to the laws of any other nation. Our national constitution provides that all persons born in the United States are citizens of the United States. The laws of some nations provide that children of their citizens are also citizens of the country to which the parents belong, no matter where the parents are living at the time the children are born. Until very recently that was the law in Japan. The result was that all the Japanese born in Hawaii from the time it became a part of the United States until December, 1924, were by that fact citizens of the United States and also citizens of Japan. In 1924 there were more than 60,000 Japanese in Hawaii having this double or " dual " citizenship. One feature of the situation was that it made the young men subject to be called for military duty in Japan after they became eighteen years of age. Many, perhaps most, of the Japanese born in Hawaii did not wish to be Japanese citizens, but for a long time they had no choice in the matter.

A great deal of trouble and some ill-feeling arose over this question of dual citizenship, and people both in Hawaii and in Japan urged the Japanese government to change the law. In 1916 a law was passed in Japan opening a way for Japanese in Hawaii to expatriate themselves, that is, to rid themselves of their Japanese citizenship. This law did not go far enough, however, and the agitation continued. In 1924 a new and very liberal expatriation law was passed by the Japanese government.

This new law provides that after December 1, 1924, children born in the United States of Japanese parents will not be Japanese citizens unless their parents immediately claim Japanese citizenship for them. A simple and easy process was provided by which Japanese having dual citizenship may expatriate themselves, that is, *give up* their Japanese citizenship, at any time. The Japanese government announced that its policy was to encourage the expatriation of Japanese in Hawaii having dual citizenship. The Japanese consul general in Hawaii did all in his power to

make the provisions of the law clear, and urged Japanese-American citizens to take advantage of it.

International good will in the Pacific. Far-sighted men in Hawaii have for a long time been striving to foster a feeling of friendliness among the people of different nations living in the Pacific area. In 1907 a committee was organized and a secretary was sent to visit the Pacific countries and arouse sentiment for some form of coöperative work. In 1910 Governor Frear issued a call for a conference to be held in Honolulu the following year. This resulted in the formation of the Hands-Around-the-Pacific Club, which developed into the Pan-Pacific Union. The leaders in the movement rightly believed that the establishment of harmony in the Pacific would furnish to the entire world an example of coöperation, and so promote the cause of general peace.

As a means of bringing together leaders in science, education, and commerce, a series of conferences have been held under the auspices of the Union, assisted by the territorial legislature and by institutions and individuals. In 1920 a scientific conference met in Honolulu; it was followed by an educational conference in 1921 and a commercial conference in 1922. In 1924 Hawaii was again host to a food conservation conference. Delegates from nearly all the countries of the Pacific area have attended these conferences.

Working together in learning about the plants and animals and men that live on the thousands of Pacific islands is another means of promoting friendship among the people of this part of the world. Beginning in 1914, the scientific institutions and the governments of the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand have joined forces in exploring the Pacific, making new maps, and writing articles and books. To talk over what has been done and to plan for other work, the scientists hold meetings, called Pacific science congresses, at different places. The first meeting was held in San Francisco in 1915,

the second at Pasadena in 1918, the third in Honolulu in 1920, and the fourth in Australia in 1923. In 1926 the scientists will again come together in Japan. The Bishop Museum has been a leader in organizing these scientific conferences.

What is likely to become a very important agency in removing misunderstanding and establishing good will among the nations surrounding the Pacific is the Institute of Pacific Relations organized in 1924. At the first meeting, held in Honolulu in July, 1925, more than one hundred delegates were present. Among them were distinguished editors, university professors, scientists, business men, and religious leaders from Japan, Korea, China, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand, the United States, Canada, England, and Switzerland. The purpose of the Institute is to discuss frankly such questions as immigration, race prejudices, business relations, and religious differences among the people living in and around the Pacific Ocean.

Questions and Exercises

1. Here is a new word you are to look up — *assimilation*. People use it very often when they speak of food in connection with digestion. They also use it when they speak of many foreigners who are trying to adopt the customs, language, and general living conditions of the country in which they have chosen to make their home.

You have all learned that to eat only one kind of food, no matter how nutritious it is, will not do you as much good as eating a variety of nutritious foods. We also know that while certain parts of a food are good for us, other parts are not only useless, but are really harmful. For example, peanuts are full of nutriment, but did you ever hear of any one becoming strong and healthy on peanut shells? We know that it is best for us to eat the most nutritious parts of many kinds of food. We also know it is best to eat these foods in moderate amounts. There are other points which we must remember with regard to eating: (1) We must not eat too rapidly, and (2) we must chew our food thoroughly if we want to assimilate it.

a. In what ways are the immigrants, who come to a country from many foreign lands, much like a large variety of foodstuffs?

b. What change must take place in them and in their children before they are really Americans?

c. Is it bad for our country to bring into it foreigners whose ideas and customs are different from our own? Explain why.

d. What lessons did you learn in discussing assimilation of foodstuffs that you can apply in the case of many kinds of foreigners becoming Americans?

2. In our homes the kitchen is very important because it is there that our food is properly prepared for us. Can you see in what ways the schools of America are to the nation what the kitchen is to the home? Can you tell us how the school prepares the boys and girls for assimilation by the nation?

3. You must have heard in your homes some discussion of the question of students' attending foreign-language schools. In this chapter you have read an explanation which tries to show the reasons for the objections to these schools.

a. What is the real danger from the foreign-language schools?

b. Explain how they may be the innocent cause of much trouble.

c. In what ways are the foreign-language schools doing a great deal of good in the Territory?

4. Have you ever seen two children who want the same book struggling to gain possession of it? When the question was finally decided, you probably noticed that the book was torn or damaged and that neither of the children had what he really wanted.

a. In what way can you compare the children's struggle for the book with the discussion between Japan and the United States regarding the citizenship of Japanese born in Hawaii?

b. Who is likely to suffer most, Japan, the United States, or the Japanese who has been born in the United States? Give reasons for your answer.

c. How has the question of dual citizenship been settled?

d. What is the danger of forcing citizenship on people?

e. Who should decide to which country the loyalty of a person should be given? Why?

5. What helps to develop kindly, helpful, friendly feelings among the different families in a neighborhood? Make a list in your notebook of all the things the people of the neighborhood can do to develop friendly relations toward one another.

The Pacific is like a great public park, across which all the neighbors who live around the park pass, from time to time, when they go to visit one another.

a. What has been done in the past to bring the neighbors of the Pacific into closer friendship with one another?

b. Why is the good will of neighboring countries a very necessary thing?

c. What is being done here in Hawaii to continue this good work?

d. Why should Hawaii take the lead in working for friendship and coöperation among the peoples of the Pacific?

e. As a citizen of the United States, what can you do to help this good work?

For Further Reading

Palmer, A. W. — *The Human Side of Hawaii.*

Allen, Riley H. — "Education and Race Problems in Hawaii," in *Review of Reviews*, December, 1921.

U. S. Commissioner of Education. — *A Survey of Education in Hawaii.*

Adams, Romanzo. — *The Peoples of Hawaii.*

XXX

OLD PROBLEMS IN A NEW AGE

Winning the fight against leprosy. Leprosy is the most dreadful of all diseases and one of the most difficult to combat. It has been a serious problem in Hawaii, although the disease has not been nearly so widespread as some people have supposed. It has been much worse in some other countries; but its mere presence in this beautiful island group is serious and deserves all the study, labor, and expense which have been put forth to conquer it. The story of the fight against leprosy is as important — though it may not sound as thrilling — as any story of warfare in which swords and guns and drumbeats stir the blood. It is a fight in which scientists and medical men in all parts of the world have coöperated; but it is in Hawaii that the greatest success has been gained.

The settlement on Molokai for those afflicted with leprosy had been in existence for a third of a century when Hawaii became a part of the United States. There on a small triangle of land containing a few square miles about a thousand people were living. The problem was brought to the attention of Congress, and in 1905 a law was passed which made possible the establishment of a Leprosy Investigation Station in Hawaii for the purpose of studying the disease and finding a cure for it. Since that time the national government and the territorial government have worked together in the effort to stamp out leprosy in these islands. In the course of some twenty years many lepers have been cured and the population of the Molokai settlement has decreased to less than half what it was in 1900.

The outstanding achievement has been the perfecting of chaulmoogra oil as a remedy for leprosy. This oil, product of a tree found in Asia, has been used for many years in various parts of the world in the treatment of those suffering with the disease. It was used in Hawaii at least as early as 1890, but was afterwards abandoned. In 1905 Dr. W. J. Goodhue, resident physician at the Molokai settlement, began its use again, and since then it has been used continuously. The trouble with plain chaulmoogra oil is that it has a very disagreeable taste and is also liable to upset the stomach. It was therefore mixed with other things and in that way made easier to take through the mouth. It was found that the mixture was more effective when it was injected into the fleshy parts of the body; that method of treatment was used in many cases. By these methods a considerable number of patients were cured of leprosy between 1905 and 1915.

The results of using chaulmoogra oil caused some scientists and medical men to think that the oil contained an active element which killed the germs of leprosy, and they tried by chemical processes to extract this active element and put it into a form that would be more effective and less disagreeable to take. In 1916 Dr. H. T. Hollmann, who was in charge of the Kalihi Hospital, the leprosy receiving station at Honolulu, began the use of a chemical product of chaulmoogra oil prepared in the laboratory of the College of Hawaii under the direction of Dr. A. L. Dean, president of the college and professor of chemistry. The curative powers of this product were superior to anything previously used in the treatment of leprosy. Since that time the chemical work has been carried on continuously in the college and university laboratories, and even better remedies have been prepared from the crude chaulmoogra oil.

The results of the use of these remedies have been truly remarkable. The doctors are not yet willing to say that all cases of leprosy can be cured; but if the treatment is begun early

enough and continued with courage and perseverance, there is good reason to expect a cure. New hope has come to those afflicted with the disease, and it is believed that in course of time leprosy in Hawaii will be entirely stamped out. The latest development in the treatment of the disease is the use of radium, which has given encouraging results in some cases.

Physical and social welfare work. The work that has just been described is an activity of the government. A number of other projects, among them several for the special benefit of the native population, are the result of private benefaction.

Among the oldest of these is the Lunalilo Home for poor, aged, and infirm Hawaiians. Here the old and feeble who have no other home may live as the "guests" of the good king who provided in his will for the establishment of the home. It is a colony of old people, who are at liberty to come and go and receive visitors as they please. Their wants are simple. On each January 31 the birth of King Lunalilo is celebrated with a *luau*. While Queen Liliuokalani was alive, it was her custom to visit the home on that occasion.

Another institution founded under royal auspices is the Kapiolani Maternity Home, named in honor of the queen, Kapiolani, wife of King Kalakaua, who had most to do with its establishment. It dates from 1890, but grew out of an earlier organization whose object was the perpetuation of the Hawaiian race.

Queen Liliuokalani, too, thought of the welfare of her race. By the terms of her will the greater part of her property was placed in the *Liliuokalani Trust*, providing a fund to be used in building orphanages that are to bear her name.

The Queen's Hospital, after more than half a century of good work, has just entered upon a new and broader field of service. A splendid new building was erected (1922–24) at a cost of more than half a million dollars, new departments were added, and the staff of doctors and nurses was enlarged. Another fine

institution is the Japanese Hospital in Honolulu. The Kauikeolani Children's Hospital was opened in 1909. In connection with this hospital the national organization of the Mystic Shrine has for several years been carrying on an important work for crippled children. The Leahi Home was organized in 1900 for the care of those suffering with tuberculosis. These large hospitals are all located in Honolulu, but there are many smaller ones throughout the Territory which do effective work in the alleviation of suffering.

The most important organization for welfare work in Hawaii is the Palama Settlement. This institution began in 1896 as the Palama Chapel and was carried on for fourteen years under the control of Central Union Church and the Hawaiian Board. In 1906 the name was changed to Palama Settlement, and four years later the institution received a charter as an independent corporation for charitable purposes. Beginning on a small scale, the work expanded from year to year with the growing and changing population of Honolulu. To-day it includes medical and dental work (dispensaries, clinics, visits by nurses), educational and recreational work, athletics, infant nutrition, fresh-air camps, and other activities to meet the needs of the people living in the congested parts of the city.

Homesteads and the rehabilitation project. A homestead, as the word is ordinarily used, is a portion of public land which a person may acquire as his personal property by living upon it for a certain length of time and paying certain small fees. On the mainland of the United States the taking up of homesteads has been a very important method of disposing of public lands and of promoting agricultural development through the creation of a substantial farming class. In Hawaii the homestead system has not been so successful.

A few homesteads were taken up every year after Hawaii became a Territory, but the existing system of homesteading was not very satisfactory. Under the Organic Act, any desired

The Palama Settlement

area of available public land had to be surveyed and divided into homesteads whenever twenty-five citizens requested such action. Those who actually received the homesteads were not necessarily the ones who signed the original request. The homesteads were given out by lot and the government could not reject the applications of those who seemed to be unfit or unreliable. An additional difficulty was the fact that a large area of public land had been let out on long leases and was therefore not available for homesteads. In 1916 three fifths of the agricultural land belonging to the Territory was held in this way on leases; but many of the leases were almost ready to expire.

At the same time many thoughtful persons were seriously trying to find some way to preserve and increase the Hawaiian race. This problem was discussed in connection with the problem of homesteading, and out of the discussion has come what is sometimes called the rehabilitation project.

In 1919 the legislature adopted a resolution asking Congress to amend the part of the Organic Act relating to land. Under the proposed change the government would have some control over the selection of homesteaders. After a thorough consideration of the whole situation the Organic Act was amended, July 9, 1921, by the passage of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act.

This act was framed primarily with the needs of the native race in mind. It provides that certain public lands are to be set aside and divided into homesteads for selected families of Hawaiian ancestry. The lands are to be held on ninety-nine year leases, at an annual nominal rental of one dollar. These Hawaiian homesteads are to be limited at first to lands on Hawaii and Molokai.

The project is administered by a commission consisting of the governor of the Territory and four other members, three of whom must be native Hawaiians. It was the policy of the commission to make thorough preparation before the settlers

were placed on the land. Accordingly, roads were built, fences put up, land cleared, and irrigation provided for. Then the first homesteaders were selected. The first settlement was on the island of Molokai and was named the Kalanianaole Settlement, in honor of Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole. Prince Kuhio was one of the first members of the commission and was intensely interested in the project. The first families occupied their homesteads in 1922, and by the end of 1924 the population of the settlement was nearly three hundred.

Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaole

A demonstration farm has been established to experiment with fruits, vegetables, and livestock. An agricultural expert gives advice on the preparation and cultivation of the soil. Specialists from the University of Hawaii coöperate with the commissioners in selecting the right crops to bring the farmers the best returns. Money is loaned to the homesteaders to enable them to get started, the funds for this purpose being obtained from the leases of sugar lands belonging to the Territory.

The problem of education. The present school system of Hawaii is the result of a century of progress. During the last

quarter century the problem of education has been complicated and made more difficult by the rapid increase in the number of children of Oriental ancestry. While no radical change has been made in the school system, it has grown and developed in order to be able to do the work demanded of it. The schools are divided into two groups, public and private. Aside from foreign-language schools there are between forty and fifty private schools. The public schools are under the direction of the territorial department of public instruction. There is no county or local school system.

Among the private schools two of the most interesting and important are the Kamehameha Schools founded in accordance with the will of Princess Bernice Pauahi (Mrs. Charles R. Bishop). It was the wish of Mrs. Bishop to provide "first and chiefly a good education in the common English branches, and also instruction in morals and in such useful knowledge as may tend to make good and industrious men and women." The school for boys was opened in 1887, that for girls in 1894. They have been carried on in the spirit of Mrs. Bishop's will and give special attention to studies of a practical character. They have been a very important factor in the education of Hawaiian boys and girls.

Punahou School has witnessed a rapid growth and expansion during the years since annexation. To-day it is one of the largest schools in Hawaii. A school of similar character is St. Louis College, the most important of the Catholic schools. This institution was founded during the early eighties and has grown rapidly in recent years. In 1925 plans were in progress for a splendid new plant to be built in Kaimuki. Other important private schools are the Mid-Pacific Institute and the Episcopal schools, St. Andrews Priory for girls and Iolani School for boys. All these schools are located in Honolulu. Another important institution is the Hilo Boarding School, whose history runs back to early missionary days.

The public schools of the Territory take care of more than fifty thousand pupils, for whom nearly sixteen hundred teachers are provided. The commingling of races that is characteristic of the schools is seen among the teachers as well as among the pupils.

The training of teachers is provided for by the Territorial Normal School. A heavy handicap to education until recently

Ewa school, island of Oahu

was the insufficient training of teachers, many of whom had never gone beyond the eighth grade. This defect has been remedied and further opportunity for professional training is offered in special courses and classes at both the Normal School and the University of Hawaii. The growth in size and efficiency of the Normal School is illustrated by the fact that each year it is necessary to bring fewer teachers from the mainland. Within a short time the Territory will be self-supporting in this respect.

The University of Hawaii is one of the youngest of Hawaii's educational institutions, but it is one of the most important and

rounds out what would otherwise be an incomplete system. It began as the College of Hawaii, established by act of the legislature in 1907. The new institution was a "land grant college," receiving a certain amount of aid from the federal government,

Photograph by Oliver P. Emerson.

University of Hawaii

The University farm is in the foreground; the athletic field is to the left of the main group of University buildings.

to be expended for instruction in agriculture, mechanical and practical sciences, and the English language. During the early years the college was small, but hopes were large and plans broadly laid.

In 1919 an act was passed by the legislature "to establish a University of Hawaii," in which the earlier College of Hawaii

became the college of applied science. In this new and enlarged form the development of the institution has been rapid, both in equipment and in number of students. The members of the student body are drawn from practically all the races represented in the population of the Territory.

The chief aim of education in Hawaii must be to mold its sharply differentiated racial groups into an American citizenship. This cannot be done solely by academic courses but must include vocational work. Occupations directly or indirectly connected with agriculture offer the best future for the great mass of young people in the public schools. Particularly in the grades training in handwork, cooking and sewing, the care of a house, the making of gardens, and the care of animals through pig and poultry clubs must continue and increase.

Although Hawaii has many difficulties that the continental United States does not have to meet, it also possesses compensating advantages. The climate, which makes it possible all the year round to be in the open air, furnishes an unequaled opportunity for out-of-doors activities. Good health and good spirits are the result of being able to play and work in the sunshine.

Questions and Exercises

1. In your earlier chapters you have read something of the spread of leprosy in Hawaii. Review this subject briefly.
   a. What encouraging change has taken place in the situation with regard to leprosy here in Hawaii?
   b. To what are these changes due?
   c. To whom does the credit for this work belong?
2. The kindly, unselfish nature of the Hawaiian has been shown to us in the splendid public works of the former rulers of Hawaii. List these public works in your notebook, with the names of their founders.
3. American history teaches us that the colonists had the courage to defy England because of their newly developed sense of independence. History also teaches that that independence was due to the fact that nearly all of the colonists were farmers, who produced most of the

necessities of life and depended on the outside world for very little. When there were few people and much land it was easy to be a farmer; but now it is much harder to get land for farming purposes as there is very little fertile land still available.

a. What has our government done to encourage people to take up land and become farmers?
  (1) On the mainland?
  (2) Here in Hawaii?

b. How is this arrangement of landholding better, from the farmers' point of view, than buying land from some private citizen? Discuss the benefits of the homesteading system.

c. What is the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act?

d. Whom is it especially meant to help? Why?

e. How successful has it been thus far?

4. *a.* What should the aim of education be to-day?

b. What should the aim of education be here in Hawaii?

c. In what ways does the situation in Hawaii differ greatly from that on the mainland?

APPENDIX

Rulers of Hawaii

1. Native Monarchs

Name	Birth	Accession	Death
Kamehameha I	*c.* 1737	1795	May 8, 1819
Kamehameha II (Liholiho)	1797	May 20, 1819	July 14, 1824
Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli)	Aug. 11, 1813	June 6, 1825	Dec. 15, 1854
Kamehameha IV (Alexander Liholiho)	Feb. 9, 1834	Dec. 15, 1854	Nov. 30, 1863
Kamehameha V (Lot Kamehameha)	Dec. 11, 1830	Nov. 30, 1863	Dec. 11, 1872
William C. Lunalilo	Jan. 31, 1832	Jan. 8, 1873	Feb. 3, 1874
David Kalakaua	Nov. 16, 1836	Feb. 12, 1874	Jan. 20, 1891
Liliuokalani	Sept. 2, 1838	Jan. 29, 1891	Nov. 11, 1917

Liliuokalani was deposed and the Hawaiian Kingdom came to an end on January 17, 1893.

2. President of Provisional Government

	Term Began	Term Ended
Sanford B. Dole	Jan. 17, 1893	July 4, 1894

3. President of Republic of Hawaii

	Term Began	Term Ended
Sanford B. Dole	July 4, 1894	June 14, 1900

4. Governors of Territory of Hawaii

Name	Appointed by President	Term Began	Term Ended
Sanford B. Dole . . .	McKinley	June 14, 1900	Nov. 23, 1903
George R. Carter . . .	Roosevelt	Nov. 23, 1903	Aug. 15, 1907
Walter F. Frear . . .	Roosevelt	Aug. 15, 1907	Nov. 29, 1913
Lucius E. Pinkham . .	Wilson	Nov. 29, 1913	June 22, 1918
Charles J. McCarthy .	Wilson	June 22, 1918	July 5, 1921
Wallace R. Farrington .	Harding	July 5, 1921	July 5, 1925
Wallace R. Farrington Second Term . . .	Coolidge	July 5, 1925	

LAWRENCE M. Judd

Population of Hawaii

Year	Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian	Foreigners		Total
1832				130,313
1836				108,579
1853	71,019	2,119		73,138
1860	67,084	2,716		69,800
1866	58,765	4,194		62,959
		Born in Hawaii of Non-Hawaiian Ancestors	Foreign-Born	
1872	51,531	849	4,517	56,897
1878	47,508	947	9,530	57,985
1884	44,232	2,040	34,306	80,578
1890	40,622	7,495	41,873	89,990
1896	39,504	12,844	56,672	109,020
		Born in Hawaii or Elsewhere in United States, of Non-Hawaiian Ancestors		
1900	37,656	25,565	90,780	154,001
1910	38,547	59,610*	93,752	191,909
1920	41,750	126,921**	87,241	255,912

*Includes 4,890 Porto Ricans and 2,361 Filipinos.
**Includes 5,602 Porto Ricans and 21,031 Filipinos.

Growth of Hawaiian Commerce

Year	Total Imports	Total Exports	Domestic Produce Exported
1844	$ 350,347	$ 169,641	$ 109,587
1850	1,035,058	783,052	536,522
1860	1,223,749	807,459	480,526
1870	1,930,227	2,144,942	1,514,425
1880	3,673,268	4,968,445	4,889,194
1890	6,962,201	13,142,829	13,023,304
1899	16,069,577	22,628,742	22,324,865
1905	14,718,483	36,174,526	36,126,797
1915	26,416,031	62,464,759	62,195,586
1925	81,802,547	105,599,819	105,504,292

Outline of the Government of Hawaii

I. The Organic Act

"The Organic Act made by Congress is the Constitution of the Territory of Hawaii. The people of a state make their own constitution, but the Congress of the United States makes the laws which determine the form of government of all territories. The people of a state can amend their constitution, but the people of Hawaii cannot amend the Organic Act which serves as a constitution. They can petition Congress to amend the Act and can suggest amendments. Congress can change the form of government of Hawaii at any time. . . Congress has full control over all matters of government in Hawaii, Territorial and local." — K. C. Leebrick, *Fundamental American Ideals and Institutions*, pp. 55–56.

II. The Executive

A. Officers Appointed by the President of the United States with advice and consent of United States Senate.

1. The Governor:
   (*a*) Term of office: Four years.
   (*b*) Qualifications: "He shall be not less than thirty-five years of age; shall be a citizen of the Territory of Hawaii; shall have resided therein for at least three years next preceding his appointment."

(*c*) Powers and duties: Similar to those of governors of states. He is also the personal representative of the President of the United States and executive officer for the federal government. Makes a report each year to the Secretary of the Interior.

2. The Secretary of the Territory:
   (*a*) Term of office: Four years.
   (*b*) Shall be a citizen of the Territory.
   (*c*) Duties: "He shall record and preserve all the laws and proceedings of the legislature and all acts and proceedings of the governor, and promulgate proclamations of the governor."
   (*d*) Becomes acting governor in case of the death, removal, resignation, or disability of the governor, or his absence from the Territory.

B. Officers Appointed by the Governor.

1. Attorney General:
   Is legal representative of the Territory in all cases in which the Territory is a party or is interested; is legal adviser of all heads of departments and other Territorial officials. Formerly had charge of all criminal prosecutions throughout the Territory; the organization of county governments has relieved him of this duty, but he can still intervene whenever he sees fit to do so; is a member of the board of health.
2. The Treasurer:
   Has general supervision over financial affairs of the Territory; is charged with the enforcement of all its revenue laws, the collection of taxes, the safe keeping and disbursement of the public moneys; is ex-officio bank examiner for the Territory; audits financial books and accounts of the several counties; makes a biennial report to the legislature.
3. Auditor:
   Is the general accountant of the Territory and has complete supervision of all Territorial accounts; has the power, by withholding his approval when necessary, to prevent the misappropriation of public funds, as well as the disbursement of public moneys in excess of specific appropriations; audits claims against the Territory and issues warrants for payment of the same; makes an annual report to the governor and a biennial report to the legislature.
4. Commissioner of Public Lands:
   Has the management of all lands in the possession, use, and

control of the Territory, except as otherwise provided by law; by and with the authority of the governor has power to lease, sell, or otherwise dispose of the public lands and other property, in such manner as he may deem best for the protection of agriculture and the general welfare of the Territory, but this power is subject to such restrictions as are, from time to time, expressly provided by law; prepares and issues patents, leases, grants, and other conveyances of government land or real estate, and keeps a record of the same.

5. Superintendent of Public Works:
   Superintends and manages the internal improvements of the Territory; is ex-officio chairman of the board of harbor commissioners; has charge of public buildings and their construction and repair; as chairman of board of harbor commissioners, has supervision of harbors, wharves, dredging, pilot service, etc.
6. Superintendent of Public Instruction:
   Is chief administrative officer of the department of public instruction; presides at meetings of the commissioners of public instruction and signs all official documents of the department; makes an annual report to the governor.
7. Surveyor:
   Makes official surveys, prepares maps, etc.; is adviser to the Land Court.
8. High Sheriff:
   Duties now confined chiefly to having charge of the Territorial (Oahu) prison; was formerly much more powerful, but since organization of county governments the ordinary duties of a sheriff have been taken over by the county sheriffs; is responsible to the attorney general.

The above officers and all members of boards and commissions are appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the territorial senate. They must be citizens of the Territory of Hawaii and must have resided therein for at least three years next preceding their appointment. The officers named above are appointed for a term of four years.

C. Boards and Commissions Appointed by the Governor.

1. Board of Health:
   Consists of seven members, including the attorney general and two physicians; the president is executive officer and receives a salary; has general charge, oversight, and care of health

(sanitation, quarantine, hospitals, vital statistics, etc.). Regulations of the board of health, when approved by the governor, have the force of law.

2. Board of Agriculture and Forestry:
Consists of five members; has duty of caring for and extending forest areas and promoting agriculture by study, experiment, and collection and publication of information relating to forestry, entomology, plant pathology, and general agriculture; may establish quarantine and other regulations to prevent introduction of plant diseases and injurious plants and insects; when approved by the governor, these regulations have the force of law.
3. Board of Harbor Commissioners:
Composed of the superintendent of public works and four other members; has all the powers and performs "all the duties which may lawfully be exercised by or under the Territory of Hawaii relative to the control and management of the harbors, harbor improvements, ports, docks, wharves, and shipping throughout the Territory."
4. Public Utilities Commission:
Consists of three members; has extensive powers and control over public utilities (transportation, telegraph, telephone, light, power, heat, water, gas companies, etc.); has authority to raise or lower rates, subject to appeal to Supreme Court of the Territory.
5. Commissioners of Public Instruction:
Six in number; together with the superintendent of public instruction, they constitute the department of public instruction, which has entire charge and control of all public schools in the Territory, except the University of Hawaii.
6. Board of Regents of the University of Hawaii:
Consists of seven members, including the president of the University and the president of the board of agriculture and forestry; has general management and control of the affairs of the University.
7. Numerous other boards and commissions of lesser importance or of temporary character, as authorized by the legislature.

III. The Legislature

1. The Senate:
(*a*) Fifteen members apportioned as follows:
First district (Hawaii), four senators;

Second district (Maui, Molokai, Lanai, and Kahoolawe), three senators;
Third district (Oahu), six senators;
Fourth district (Kauai and Niihau), two senators.
(*b*) Term of office is four years.
(*c*) Qualifications: Must be citizens of the United States, at least thirty years of age, and must have resided in the Hawaiian Islands not less than three years and be qualified to vote for senators in the district from which they are elected.

2. The House of Representatives:
(*a*) Thirty members apportioned as follows:
First district (East Hawaii), four representatives;
Second district (West Hawaii), four representatives;
Third district (Maui, Molokai, Lanai, and Kahoolawe), six representatives;
Fourth district (Oahu east and south of Nuuanu street and extension thereof to Mokapu Point), six representatives;
Fifth district (Oahu west and north of fourth district), six representatives;
Sixth district (Kauai and Niihau), four representatives.*
(*b*) Term of office is two years.
(*c*) Qualifications: Must be citizens of the United States, at least twenty-five years of age, and must have resided in the Hawaiian Islands not less than three years and be qualified to vote for representatives in the district from which they are elected.

3. Sessions of the Legislature:
(*a*) Regular sessions every two years in odd numbered years, beginning on third Wednesday in February.
(*b*) Special sessions of the legislature or of the senate alone at call of the governor.
(*c*) Procedure is similar to that of other legislative bodies.

4. Legislative power:
"Extends to all rightful subjects of legislation not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States locally applicable;" but Congress has power to disallow any act of the Territorial legislature.

*By the Organic Act it is made the duty of the legislature to reapportion the membership in the senate and house of representatives after each census on the basis of the number of citizens in each district; but this has not been done up to this time (1926).

IV. The Judiciary

A. Territorial Courts.

1. Supreme Court:
   Composed of a chief justice and two associate justices, appointed by the President with advice and consent of the United States Senate, for terms of four years. Must be citizens of Territory of Hawaii and must have resided therein for at least three years next preceding their appointment.
2. Circuit Courts:
   (*a*) First circuit (Oahu), four judges;
   Second circuit (Maui, Molokai, Lanai, and Kahoolawe), one judge;
   Third circuit (West Hawaii), one judge;
   Fourth circuit (East Hawaii), one judge;
   Fifth circuit (Kauai and Niihau), one judge.
   (*b*) Appointment, term of office, and qualifications are the same as those of justices of the Supreme Court.
   (*c*) The judges of the second, third, fourth, and fifth circuits and the fourth judge of the first circuit are judges of the Juvenile Courts. Juvenile cases are heard by them in chambers.
   (*d*) The fourth judge of the first circuit is judge of the division of domestic relations of that circuit.
3. District Courts:
   The Territory is divided into twenty-seven judicial districts; for each of these districts one or more district magistrates are appointed. District magistrates are appointed by the chief justice of the Supreme Court for a term of two years. They correspond to justices of the peace in the mainland portion of the United States.
4. Land Court:
   (*a*) This court has "exclusive original jurisdiction of all applications for the registration of title to land and easements or rights in land held and possessed in fee simple within the Territory, with power to hear and determine all questions arising upon such applications." The decrees of this court "operate directly on the land and vest and establish title thereto."
   (*b*) The judge of the Land Court is one of the judges of the Circuit Court of the first circuit designated by the chief justice of the Supreme Court.

5. Tax Appeal Courts:

(*a*) There is a Tax Appeal Court in each county or city and county, composed of three suitable persons appointed by the governor for a term of one year.

(*b*) These courts hear and determine appeals made from the property or taxable-income valuations fixed by the tax assessors. They commence to hold sittings during July of each year. If the Tax Appeal Court raises or lowers the assessments made by the assessor, an appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court by either the taxpayer or the assessor.

B. Federal Court.

United States District Court:

(*a*) Two judges, appointed for term of six years by the President, with advice and consent of United States Senate. Must be citizens of Territory of Hawaii and must have resided therein for at least three years next preceding their appointment.

(*b*) This court differs from United States District Courts in the mainland portion of the United States in that, in addition to the ordinary jurisdiction of a United States District Court, it also has jurisdiction of all cases cognizable in a United States Circuit Court, and proceeds in such cases in the same manner as a United States Circuit Court.

V. Citizenship and Voting

1. Citizenship:

All questions of citizenship and naturalization are determined by the constitution and laws of the United States. Section 4 of the Organic Act provides "that all persons who were citizens of the Republic of Hawaii on August twelfth, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States and citizens of the Territory of Hawaii." As to who were citizens of the Republic of Hawaii on that date, article 17, section 1, of the constitution of the Republic provided that all persons born or naturalized in the Hawaiian Islands and subject to the jurisdiction of the Republic of Hawaii were citizens thereof.

2. Voting:

In order to be qualified to vote, a person shall

"*First:* Be a citizen of the United States.

"*Second:* Have resided in the Territory not less than one year preceding and in the representative district in which he offers to

register not less than three months immediately preceding the time at which he offers to register.

"*Third:* Have attained the age of twenty-one years.

"*Fourth:* Prior to each regular election, during the time prescribed by law for registration, have caused his name to be entered on the register of voters for representatives for his district.

"*Fifth:* Be able to speak, read, and write the English or Hawaiian language."

VI. United States Officers

1. Delegate to Congress:
   Elected by the voters of the Territory; term of office, two years; shall have same qualifications as a member of the senate of the legislature of Hawaii. The Delegate to Congress has a seat in the House of Representatives, with the right of debate but not of voting.
2. Judges of the United States District Court:
   See above, under *Federal Court.*
3. United States District Attorney:
   Appointed by the President; term of office, six years; must be a citizen of the Territory of Hawaii and must have resided therein for at least three years next preceding his appointment.
4. United States Marshal:
   Appointed by the President; term of office, six years; must be a citizen of the Territory of Hawaii and must have resided therein for at least three years next preceding his appointment.
5. Other Federal Officials in the Territory:
   Prohibition Administrator, Collector of Internal Revenue, Collector of Customs, Immigration Inspector, Postal Inspector, Postmasters, and various officials of the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, and Interior.

VII. Local Government

1. Section 56 of the Organic Act provides "that the legislature may create counties and town and city municipalities within the Territory of Hawaii and provide for the government thereof, and all officials thereof shall be appointed or elected, as the case may be, in such manner as shall be provided by the Governor and legislature of the Territory." Acting under this authority, the legislature created local governments for the various parts

of the Territory. These local governments may be changed or abolished by the legislature.

2. Counties:

(*a*) County of Hawaii, comprising the island of Hawaii; county seat at Hilo.

(*b*) County of Maui, comprising the islands of Maui, Lanai, Kahoolawe, and Molokai (except the Leper Settlement); county seat at Wailuku.

(*c*) County of Kauai, comprising the islands of Kauai and Niihau; county seat at Lihue.

(*d*) County of Kalawao, comprising the Leper Settlement on the island of Molokai.

3. County Government:

(*a*) County of Kalawao: This county is under the jurisdiction and control of the Territorial Board of Health; it has one county officer, a sheriff, appointed and paid by the Board of Health.

(*b*) Counties of Hawaii, Maui, and Kauai:

(1) Officers:

a. Board of Supervisors;
b. Sheriff (who is also Coroner);
c. County Clerk;
d. Auditor;
e. County Attorney;
f. Treasurer.

(2) County officers are elected by the voters for a term of two years.

4. City and County of Honolulu:

(*a*) Comprises the island of Oahu and all islands in the Territory which are not included in one of the counties.

(*b*) Government (a modified type of county government):

(1) Officers:

a. Mayor;
b. Board of Supervisors;
c. Sheriff (who is also Coroner);
d. City and County Clerk;
e. Auditor;
f. Treasurer;
g. City and County Attorney.

(2) City and County Officers are elected by the voters for a term of two years.

A Short List of Books Dealing with Hawaiian History

I. General Histories

Alexander, William D. — *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People.* 1891. With continuation, 1899. For thirty-five years this has been the standard history of Hawaii. Written by an acknowledged authority on the subject.

Alexander, William D. — *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893.* 1896. Detailed account of the revolutionary period, based largely on official sources. Contains an account of the uprising of 1895, written by W. R. Farrington.

Bingham, Hiram — *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands.* 1847. An extensive work; the principal authority on early missionary history; but gives account also of political developments.

Blackman, William F. — *The Making of Hawaii.* 1899. A valuable book; a sociological study rather than a formal history.

Carpenter, Edmund J. — *America in Hawaii.* 1899. Sketch of development of American interests and influence in Hawaii. Based largely on United States government documents.

Dibble, Sheldon — *History of the Sandwich Islands.* 1843. Based almost entirely on native Hawaiian and missionary sources.

Fornander, Abraham — *An Account of the Polynesian Race.* Vol. I, 1878; Vol. II, 1880; Vol. III, 1885. Of great value, especially Volume II, which gives the ancient history of the Hawaiian group down to the year 1795.

Hopkins, Manley — *Hawaii: the Past, Present, and Future of Its Island-Kingdom.* 1862. Revised and extended, 1866. Important because of its English and Episcopal point of view.

Jarves, James J. — *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands.* 1843. A standard work, sympathetic with the missionaries and the government. Through connection with the government, Jarves had access to some official and other material not used by Dibble, whose history was published in the same year.

Liliuokalani — *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen.* 1898. Royalist view of the later years and overthrow of the monarchy.

Palmer, Albert W. — *The Human Side of Hawaii.* 1924. Study of the race question in Hawaii by a former pastor of Central Union (Congregational) Church, Honolulu. Gives a brief sketch of Hawaiian history.

RESTARICK, HENRY B. — *Hawaii, 1778–1920, from the Viewpoint of a Bishop*. 1924. Primarily a history of the Episcopal Church in Hawaii; but contains many valuable historical sidelights, particularly with reference to the earlier period.

TAYLOR, ALBERT P. — *Under Hawaiian Skies*. 1922. Second edition, revised, 1926. Sketches of Hawaiian history by an experienced journalist, with emphasis on the romantic features.

TWOMBLY, ALEXANDER S. — *Hawaii and Its People*. 1899. Pleasantly written book for young people.

II. Reference Material

Hawaiian Almanac and Annual, compiled and published by Thomas G. Thrum. First issue, 1875. Beginning with the 51st issue (1925), the title is *The Hawaiian Annual*. Contains an immense amount of information, statistical and otherwise, and many valuable historical articles.

Memoirs, and other publications of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Report of the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior. Annual, beginning with 1900. Beginning with 1907, the title is *Report of the Governor of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior*. A very useful annual survey of conditions and affairs within the Territory.

Reports, Papers, and Reprints of the Hawaiian Historical Society (organized 1892). The *Reports* are published annually; 14 papers were printed separately; papers read before the Society are now regularly printed in the *Annual Report*. These publications contain much valuable material.

Reports of various government officials, boards, and commissions.

Files of various newspapers and periodicals published in Honolulu, the most important being:

Bulletin (daily), 1882–1912.
Friend (monthly), 1843 to date.
Hawaiian Gazette (weekly), 1865–1888.
Hawaiian Star (daily and weekly), 1893–1912.
Kuokoa (Hawaiian weekly), 1861 to date.
Pacific Commercial Advertiser (weekly), 1856–1888. Same (daily), now *Honolulu Advertiser*, 1882 to date.
Paradise of the Pacific (monthly), 1888 to date.
Polynesian (weekly), 1840–1841, 1844–1864.
Star-Bulletin (daily), 1912 to date.

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Guide to Pronunciation of Hawaiian and Pacific Island Words

In all Hawaiian words every letter is sounded.

Every syllable ends in a vowel, and many syllables contain only vowels.

The consonants have the same sounds as in English, except that the letter *w* in the middle of a word nearly always has a sound approximately like the English *v*.

The vowels have the following sounds:

a as in *father;*
e as in *obey;*
i as in *pique* (like *ee* in *meet*);
o as in *note;*
u like *oo* in *too.*

Each vowel has a long and a short sound, but the difference is hardly noticeable to an untrained ear.

There are no true diphthongs in the Hawaiian language, but the following combinations of vowels have very nearly the sounds indicated:

ai, *ae* } like *ai* in *aisle* or like *i* in *write;*
au, *ao* } like *ow* in *cow;*
ei like *ay* in *day.*

Ordinarily the accent falls on the next to the last syllable, and in long words (not compounded) there is usually an accent on every second syllable, counting from the end.

In the Index all Hawaiian words have been divided into syllables and the accents indicated. The inverted comma (') is used in a few words to mark what is called the "glottal closure," which is simply an interruption in sound that prevents two vowels from running to-

gether. In such a case the accent falls on the vowel preceding the inverted comma. If one follows the above scheme for vowels, any further marking of them will not be necessary.

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